

# Report

## Effectiveness and evaluation of GOTV campaigns during Croatian parliamentary elections in 2003

Prepared for: USAID Mission to Croatia

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## 1 Introduction

During the pre-elections period in Croatia in 2003, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) financed campaigns that stimulated people to get out and vote in November elections, the so called GOTV (Get-Out-To-Vote) campaigns. USAID financed activities of several organizations – GONG, trade unions (HUS, SSSH, UNI-Cro and MHSJS) and Women's Network.

*In co-operation with the USAID, Puls d.o.o. agency conducted a research in order to verify the efficiency of these specific GOTV campaigns. The research was divided into two phases: a qualitative and a quantitative one.*

In the qualitative phase Puls conducted in-depth interviews to determine basic motivational and emotional factors behind voting habits. This part of the research also eased the preparation of a questionnaire, i.e. findings from in-depth interviews were used to develop the quantitative part of the research so that the results from the qualitative phase could be quantified.

In the quantitative phase Puls conducted research on three independent samples: the general population, members of trade unions and women since those three were target groups of GOTV campaigns during the pre-elections period.

The results of both phases will be presented in this report.

The fieldwork was carried out during April 22 and May 19, 2004.

It must be emphasized that this research was carried out about 6 months after elections and after GOTV campaigns. This fact considerably affects the validity of this research.

The main goal of this research was to evaluate the influence and effectiveness of GOTV campaigns in Croatia during the last parliamentary elections period. In addition to this main goal, this research was designed to determine:

- General interest in politics
- Voting in these and previous elections
- Factors influencing the decision whether to vote or not
- Scale of general interest in politics
- Awareness of campaigns (spontaneous, prompted)
- Awareness of the main message
- Assessment of the whole campaign
- Perception of the impact of the campaigns

## 2 Methodology

The research was conducted on two levels. The first level was a qualitative one - Puls conducted 20 in-depth interviews regarding the topic of elections. The second level was a quantitative one and was conducted on three independent samples.

### 2.1 Qualitative research methodology

*The method of in-depth interviews was used for the first part of this research. In-depth interviews are a qualitative form of research in which respondents are stimulated in an individual meeting with an interviewer in order to converse on a given topic that is dealt with in great detail. In-depth interviews allow us to stimulate an entire series of thoughts, associations, opinions and feelings. This method proves to be very effective to gain insight into respondents' attitudes and their evaluation of a certain problem or issue. Further, it aims at respondents' attitudes, motivational factors and emotions and provides information why respondents have positive or negative attitudes toward specific issues.*

#### 2.1.1 Sample

Overall, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted for the needs of this research. The main criterion underlying the recruitment of participants was their turnout in the 2003 parliamentary elections: 10 participants voted and 10 participants did not vote in the last elections. Participants were also recruited according to gender, age and education degree so as to obtain a larger spectrum of different views. *However, since qualitative research does not allow for testing statistical differences among different groups, possible differences among groups will be mentioned throughout the report, but emphasis will be on the main criterion: voted/did not vote in the last elections.*

### 2.2 Quantitative research methodology

#### 2.2.1 Sample

USAID having financed GOTV campaigns of a group of organizations, the research was divided into three samples, each representing the target group of a specific GOTV campaign. During the quantitative phase, Puls d.o.o. used the method of face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes for the general population and women samples. The same method was also used for the union sample but those respondents were interviewed in front of or inside their working places.

The first sample is a standard general population sample, two-phase stratified, random, and representative of citizens over 18 years of age. This sample consisted of 1000 respondents.

The second sample included women from the areas of the implementation of Women's Network activities in the pre-elections period. 400 women were included in this sample representative of specific areas of Women's Network activity. The sample used was a random sample of women from the areas where Women's Network was active in the pre-elections period.

The third sample included members of those trade unions which participated in the implementation of GOTV campaigns. Only members of the trade unions previously included in GOTV campaigns participated in this research. These trade unions are: HUS, SSSH, UNI-Cro and MHSJS. Regarding this, 394 members of trade unions were included in this part of the research.

### 2.2.2 Questionnaire

Three similar questionnaires were designed. A large part of the questionnaire is the same for all three samples. The only difference is in the last part - the last part of each questionnaire contains specific questions for specific groups, e.g. women and trade unions. To be precise, at the end of the trade union's and women's questionnaire an additional set of questions specific for these groups was added.

The questionnaire itself was also divided into two major parts:

1. Political habits (voting, attitudes toward voting and politics, etc.)
2. Evaluation of campaigns.

The questionnaire lasted around 30 minutes.

### 3 Key Points

- After constructing a scale of social involvement based on respondents' interest in politics and participation in political actions, it can be said that members of trade unions show the highest social and political involvement. There are no particular differences between the general population and women regarding their political involvement, it being mostly mediocre and low.
- Results of the general population show that male respondents have higher social involvement than the female ones. Also, adult respondents (aged 36 to 55) show the highest political commitment. In addition, highly educated respondents (university degree) are more socially and politically involved than other respondents. Respondents who are supporters of right oriented parties are also more politically involved.
- One of the most important reasons why respondents decide to vote is because they do not want someone else to decide who wins in elections. Respondents also show high moral responsibility toward their country: one of the most important factors motivating respondents to vote is fulfilling their citizen's duty.
- Respondents show a mediocre general interest in politics, although members of trade unions have larger interest than women and the general population. In all three samples there is an increase in interest in the November 2003 elections.
- Respondents from all three samples perceive their political orientation as centrist, although the respondents from the trade union and general population samples tend to support right parties more than left.
- All three samples agree that the government's main priority should be to increase the standard of living. Furthermore, respondents from all three samples believe that government should reduce unemployment. The third problem emphasized by all three samples is elimination of corruption and crime.
- Around the same percentage of all three populations voted in the last elections.
- As the main reason for voting in the last elections respondents mention that they felt it was their civil duty to vote; most of the respondents from all three samples singled out this as the main reason for voting in the last elections. Habit in voting and a desire that "their party to win" are also mentioned as reasons for voting.
- As the main reason for not voting respondents mentioned that they were disappointed and perceived that their vote could not change the situation.
- The majority from all three populations voted in the local elections in May 2001 and January 2000, their turnout being approximately the same as in November 2003.
- Those respondents who did not vote in the November 2003 elections but voted in elections of January 2000 say that they didn't vote because they were disappointed in the government. Many respondents also say that they did not vote in the last parliamentary elections because they did not know who to vote for.

- A significant number of respondents perceive differences between the atmosphere of parliamentary elections in 2000 and 2003. Many also vividly remember the 2000 elections atmosphere, part of which was a GOTV campaign that was then forceful and powerful.
- No respondents explicitly and specifically mention that they remember GOTV campaign as a specific element in both 2000 and 2003 elections.
- Phantom awareness: In all three samples more than a half of the respondents do not remember any advertisement from pre-election period, but both member unions and women remember ads from pre-election period more than those respondents from general population. In all three samples elements of HDZ campaigns are those elements which are mentioned by most of those respondents who remember advertisements from pre-election period.
- Spontaneous awareness: As in a case of phantom awareness, around 2/3 of each sample couldn't remember any NGO's ad. About 20% of respondents from general population pointed out some elements of GONG's campaigns. 27% of answers from women and 31% of answers from union members sample are related somehow to GONG.
- Aided awareness: 89% of union members did notice this advertisement, 88% of respondents in women sample and 83% of respondents in general population.
- All the other ads were mostly noticed by trade union member. Women more noticed their target group ads (Women's Section of Trade Unions and Croats Women Network).
  - Union trades ad: 26% union members, 15% of women and 16% of respondents in general population noticed this ad
  - Women section of SSSH ad: 19% union members, 15% of women and 15% of respondents in general population noticed this ad
  - Croatian Women's Network ad: 18% union members, 17% of women and 13% of respondents in general population noticed this ad
  - HUS ad: 26% union members, 18% of women and 15% of respondents in general population noticed this ad
- More than a half of the respondents describes main message of these GOTV campaigns ads as "stimulation to vote in elections". Next most mentioned main message of ad is informing people about the elections and raising people awareness about the importance of elections.
- Respondents in all three sample liked GONG's ad the most. It is the only ad which was evaluated with mark higher than 5. All the other ads were poorly evaluated.
- Respondents from all three samples find GONG's ad most suitable for the purpose of informing public about elections.
- The GONG's slogan was once again evaluated as the one, who motivates most. Women find the Croatian Women's Network slogan more motivating than other respondents from general population and union members.
- To get better insight about their perception of advertisers of this GOTV campaigns we asked respondents do they find this ads biased or do they find them neutral. Majority of respondents in all three samples find this ad nonbiased.

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- Respondents from all three samples on average believe that there is need for inviting people to vote. Average mark for necessity of inviting is in all three samples above 3, which means that more people agree with statement that it is necessary to invite people to go out on elections than that is not necessary.
- Respondents from all three samples believe that these campaigns were noticed by public, so by their perception campaigns did manage to breakthrough to citizens.
- The respondents are indifferent, e.g. they have no firm opinion on whether people finds inviting citizens to go out on elections favorable on unfavorable.
- Respondents show tendency to believe that this campaigns can stimulate small number of people.
- The way of informing people about elections is not evaluated as the best one, but it is also not evaluated poorly.
- Level of information is considerably lower for the respondents from general population as well as for the women population. Those respondents from all three samples who did vote in last elections consider themselves more informed than those respondents who didn't vote in last elections.
- The estimation of contribution to theirs level of information about the elections is rather poor, average mark is around 2,5. So we can conclude that in theirs own perception the information impact of this campaign was not high.
- The percentage of respondents who were influenced with these campaigns is 7% in women and union members sample and 8%.
- Women do not believe that women don't belong in the politics, as well as they don't agree that household members should vote for same parties. Women also believe that women are better politicians than men. When taking into consideration all their attitudes together we can conclude that women consider themselves independent and self-conscious regarding politics.
- In results shows that 13% of member users remember some actions or talks regarding elections in pre-election period.
- These actions and talks did influence on 12% of union members who can remember this actions and talk. Those who are influenced by these actions make 2% of all member users.



## 4 RESULTS

### 4.1 General political habits

Although the main goal of this research was to evaluate GOTV campaigns in the pre-elections period in Croatia, for better understanding of their motivation for voting it was necessary to get good insight into the respondents' attitudes toward politics in general and toward elections in particular.

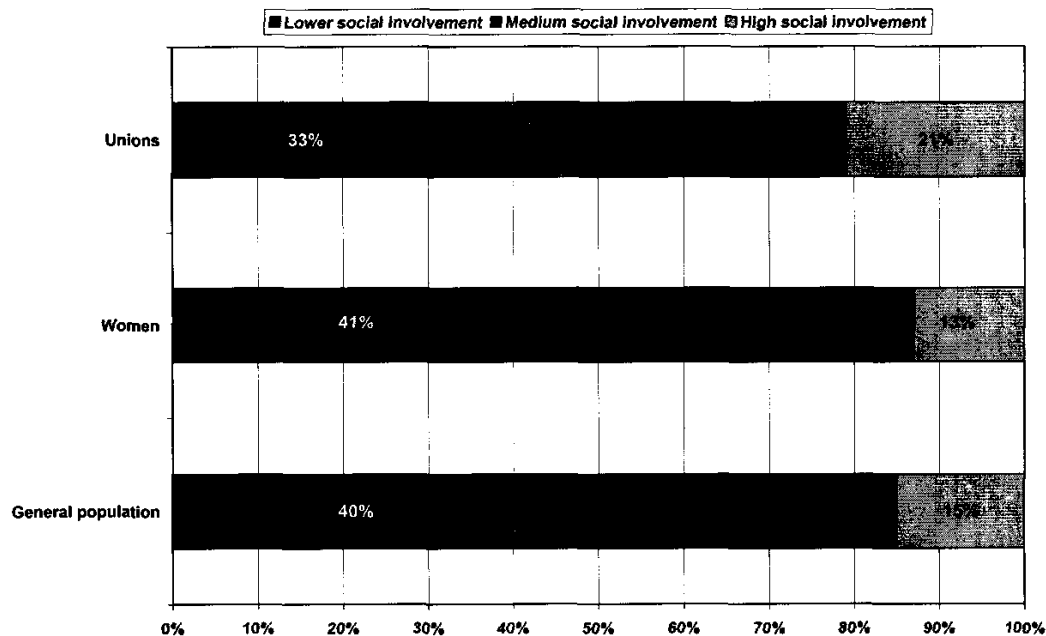
#### 4.1.1 Social involvement scale

One of general pointers of citizens' involvement in the political life is scale of social involvement. Based on first 9 questions from the questionnaire, a social involvement scale was constructed and divided into *three degrees*:

- 1) Low social involvement, meaning that respondents are not particularly involved in the political and social life and that they show little interest in politics in general;
- 2) Medium social involvement, meaning that respondents' political and social involvement as well as their interest in politics in general is mediocre;
- 3) High social involvement, meaning that respondents are highly involved in the political and social activities and that their political engagement is high.

*The scale of social involvement was constructed from respondents' answers to questions regarding their interest and involvement in politics (reading newspapers and watching political and economic programs on TV) and their participation in political actions (party memberships and activities, political engagements, political public gatherings, etc).*

Figure 1. Social involvement scale – All three samples



Results of the general population sample show that the majority of respondents do not consider themselves socially involved on a high level. They largely perceive themselves as having mediocre or low interest and political engagement.

Comparing the results of all three samples, it can be noticed that members of trade unions show the highest social and political involvement (21%). Based on these results, it can be said that members of trade unions are more interested in political events and are more involved in political and social activities than respondents from other two samples. This result is not surprising given that respondents included in this sample are members of an organization of high political awareness and engagement in political life in Croatia.

According to the results, there are no particular differences between the general population and women regarding their political involvement; both samples show similar involvement on all three levels of political engagement.

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Table 1. Social involvement scale split by demographic categories – general population

		N	Lower social involvement	Medium social involvement	High social involvement
Whole sample		1000	40%	45%	15%
Gender	Male	473	33%	48%	19%
	Female	527	46%	43%	11%
Age	Up to 25 years	130	66%	25%	8%
	26 - 36 years	149	54%	31%	15%
	36 - 45 years	167	36%	50%	13%
	46 - 55 years	176	27%	47%	26%
	56-65 years	172	30%	54%	16%
	66 and more	202	35%	55%	10%
Education	Elementary school	377	44%	47%	9%
	High school	497	39%	44%	17%
	University	126	33%	42%	25%
Profession	Free professions, management	78	32%	41%	27%
	Clerks	77	47%	36%	16%
	Workers	204	42%	42%	16%
	Students	58	62%	32%	6%
	Housewives	83	46%	51%	3%
	Unemployed	147	46%	42%	11%
	Retired	334	33%	51%	16%
Political orientation	Left	163	36%	49%	15%
	Centre	327	38%	48%	15%
	Right	260	34%	43%	23%
Voting in November 2003 elections	Yes	807	36%	47%	18%
	No	191	59%	38%	3%
Parties voted for in November 2003 elections	HDZ	319	33%	47%	20%
	HNS	55	30%	56%	14%
	HSP	51	37%	47%	16%
	HSS	66	44%	38%	18%
	Coalition SDP/LS/Libra/IDS	153	37%	46%	17%
	Other	97	36%	47%	17%

Analyzing the results of the general population sample, it can be said that male respondents show higher social involvement than the female ones. These results indicate that male respondents tend to be more actively involved in political events than the female ones.

The results further indicate that there is a difference between the age of respondents and their social involvement. Younger respondents and young adults (up to 36 years) show the lowest engagement in social and political activities. As the results show, older respondents (aged 55 and above) are socially involved on the intermediate level. These respondents were once, perhaps, more actively involved in political activities and today still follow political events but not as much as adult respondents. Adult respondents (aged 36 to 55) show the highest political commitment and are, according to the results, mostly involved in political actions.

There is a statistically significant difference between education of respondents and their political engagement. Respondents with elementary school education are much less politically engaged than other respondents, especially respondents who hold university degrees. Respondents with university degrees tend to be more active in political and social life and show high political involvement.

Furthermore, results show that respondents who, by profession, are freelancers, experts, intellectuals and managers are more interested in politics in general than respondents of other professions (especially students, housewives, clerks, workers and unemployed respondents) and are more actively involved in political activities. Students show the lowest interest and engagement in politics, which is in line with previously mentioned results that young respondents (assuming they are largely students) are much less involved in political life than older participants. Retired respondents and housewives show medium social involvement on the social involvement scale, which also corresponds with the results that political engagement of older respondents (aged 55 and above) is mediocre.

Regarding respondents' political orientation, it can be said that right-oriented respondents, i.e. supporters of right-oriented parties, tend to score higher on the scale of social involvement than supporters of other parties (center and left). Respondents who voted for HSS in the last elections in November 2003 show the lowest political engagement, while HNS voters are politically involved on the mediocre level. Respondents who voted for HDZ in the 2003 elections are more engaged on the social involvement scale than respondents who voted for other parties, although this difference is not statistically significant. However, this result supports previously mentioned result that right-oriented respondents are more politically involved than respondents of centrist and left orientation. Similarly, respondents who did not vote in the last parliamentary elections are less actively involved in politics than respondents who voted in these elections.

Similar results were also found in the qualitative part of this research. Results of in-depth interviews indicate that respondents, overall, are not much interested in politics. However, respondents who voted

in the last elections show greater political interest than respondents who didn't vote. In in-depth interviews respondents emphasize that they feel forced to be involved in politics, it is not their own desire; political and social life in Croatia is such that it dictates respondents to be engaged in politics and to actively participate in political events. Politics, as these respondents point out, is constantly present in daily lives. From these in-depth interviews it can be said that politics permeates lives of respondents participating in this research.

- *It is inevitable. When I speak with my friend, we can start talking about fruits and vegetables on the market, and how much they cost, and how expensive they are, and we end up talking about politics. Then we talk about washing the laundry, and how my friend doesn't have a washing machine because she cannot afford it, we again end up talking about politics. This topic is imposed on us, as much as we try to avoid it.*

In-depth interviews also reveal that, although respondents by and large watch news on TV (they regularly watch *Dnevnik* on HTV, some watch *24 sata* on Nova TV) and, to a lesser extent but nevertheless do read daily newspapers (particularly *Večernji list*, as they emphasize), they are not interested in political events and largely watch and read non-political topics. In general, respondents who did not vote in the last elections prefer to read about and watch foreign politics (world events, such as war in Iraq) while the ones who voted in the last elections are more interested in domestic politics, both on a local and national level. Regarding domestic politics, most respondents prefer national politics to domestic because

- *National politics is the future of all of us. Not only of one city and local community, but of all of us. Things need to function well on the national level so we can all be satisfied.*

Results of in-depth interviews show that respondents are less interested in politics and mostly interested in topics concerning:

- health
- (un)employment
- agriculture
- safety
- overall satisfaction
- relations within a family

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When asked about their first associations to the word "politics", some respondents point out concrete parties, government and politicians, whereas others associate that word with feelings largely carrying negative connotations:

- disloyalty
- weakness
- dissatisfaction
- injustice
- dirty game
- fight for power
- a lot of words, no deeds

Respondents' first associations to the word "Croatian politics" also carry negative tones, especially among those respondents who did not vote in the 2003 elections:

- thieves
- corruption
- bribery
- crime

These results indicate that respondents largely have negative associations and attitudes toward politics and are not much interested in political events in Croatia, especially respondents who did not vote. The ones who voted show higher level of social involvement, a finding that was confirmed in the quantitative part of the research as well.

Furthermore, in-depth interviews reveal that respondents discuss politics with their family and friends but that politics is not main part of their conversations. When they talk with their friends, they usually emphasize negative aspects of domestic politics:

- *We talk about what politicians did to our country, and how much they stole from us.*

#### 4.1.2 Elections

There are different reasons why people decide to either vote or not vote in elections. In order to find out what motivational factors influence one's decision regarding voting, a set of statements was composed. Respondents participating in the quantitative part of this research were asked to state to what degree they agreed with each presented statement. The main idea behind this question is to determine what motivates respondents to get-out-to vote, or not, which is one of the main goals of this research.

Table 2. Voting in elections – mean – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
I don't want somebody else decide in my name	4,27	4,36	4,45
I vote to fulfill my citizen's duty	4,19	4,25	4,31
I don't want a political option with which I disagree to win	3,95	3,98	4,09
Politicians do as they please	3,91	3,9	3,82
I'm deeply disappointed in politicians	3,86	4,01	3,98
I can't change my position in elections	3,69	3,58	3,58
When I vote, I feel as if I'm participating in something important	3,38	3,42	3,42
Getting out to vote is the most important act of participating in political life	3,36	3,33	3,37
I'm not interested in politics	3,21	3,29	3,23
All parties are alike	2,97	2,8	2,73
My vote is insignificant	2,7	2,6	2,46

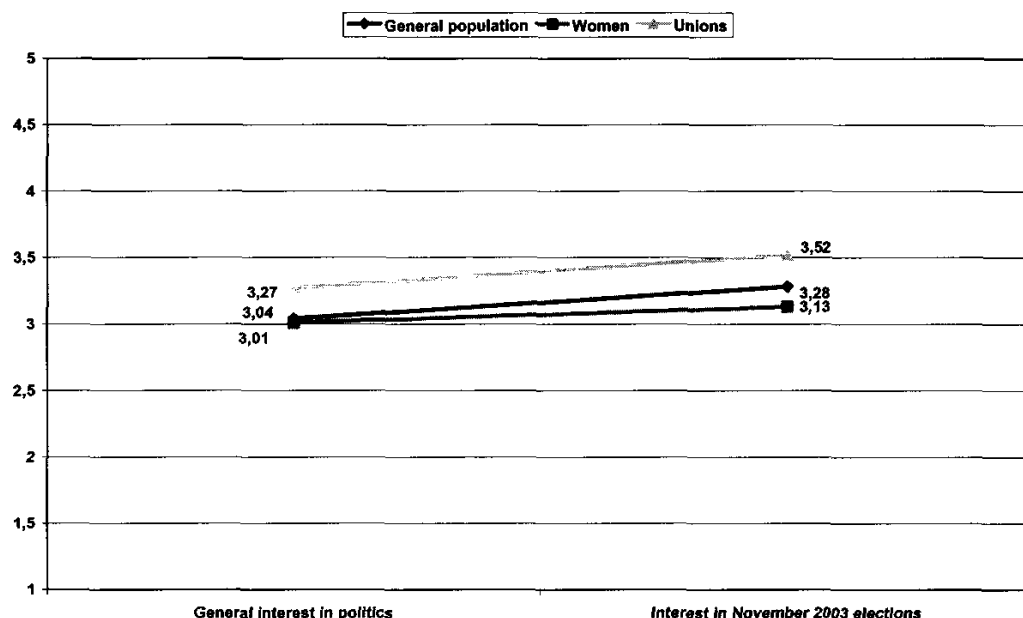
As results in Table 2 show, there are no significant differences among the three samples, suggesting that all three samples perceive similar reasons as important in the decision process. One of the most important reasons why respondents decide to vote is because they do not want someone else to decide who wins in the elections. This is for all three samples the most important motivating reason. According to this result, it can be said that respondents are unwilling to "surrender" their vote to someone else and decide instead of them which party would win. Also, respondents believe that by voting they can vote "against" a party they don't want to win (mean 4). This suggests that, even if respondents are not supporters of any particular party, one of the main voting motivators is to vote "against" if not "for".

Furthermore, respondents from all three samples show high moral responsibility toward their country: one of the most important factors motivating respondents to vote is fulfilling their citizens' duty.

Results show that respondents from all three samples least agree with the statement that their vote is insignificant, suggesting that they perceive their vote as important in the voting process. Also, they agree less with the statement that parties in the Croatian political arena are all the same. Regarding that statement a slight difference can be seen in the results of the union sample. Respondents from the union sample are more likely to perceive parties to be different (2.7), while respondents from the general population more tend to perceive the parties to be alike (3.0).

Furthermore, it was interesting to determine how interested in elections, political parties, pre-elections campaigns and the results of elections in general respondents are. According to the results, on a scale from 1 to 5, respondents show mediocre general interest in politics. There are differences between the union sample and the other two samples. Members of trade unions (mean 3.3) are more interested in general politics than women (mean 3.0) and the general population (mean 3.0). This result can also be explained by higher political engagement on the part of union members, a result that was discussed in the previous chapter.

Figure 2. General interest in elections, candidates, parties, political campaigns and election results and interest in the last elections in November 2003 – All three samples, mean



Furthermore, it was to be determined how interested in the last parliamentary elections held in November 2003 respondents were. The purpose of this question was to find out whether there were any differences among the three samples and their voting interests as well as to determine the respondents' interest in elections in general, their interest in the last elections in particular and to detect possible similarities.

Overall, as can be seen in Figure 3, there is an increase in interest in November 2003 elections in all three samples. This result suggests that respondents from all three samples show greater interest in specific political events, i.e. elections of November 2003, than in politics in general. Here, a difference among the three samples can be found. Women, although slightly more interested in the November



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2003 elections than in general politics, show the lowest interest of all three samples (mean 3.1). The greatest interest, again, is found among union members (mean 3.5), confirming the previous results.

Table 3. General interest in elections, candidates, parties, political campaigns and election results and interest in the last elections of November 2003 – split by some demographics categories – general population

		General Interest	Interest in 2003 November elections
<b>Whole sample</b>		<b>3,04</b>	<b>3,28</b>
<b>Gender</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>3,15</b>	<b>3,41</b>
	<b>Female</b>	<b>2,95</b>	<b>3,16</b>
<b>Age</b>	<b>Up to 25 years</b>	<b>2,73</b>	<b>2,94</b>
	<b>26 - 36 years</b>	<b>2,84</b>	<b>3,09</b>
	<b>36 - 45 years</b>	<b>3,00</b>	<b>3,16</b>
	<b>46 - 55 years</b>	<b>3,30</b>	<b>3,52</b>
	<b>56-65 years</b>	<b>3,31</b>	<b>3,62</b>
	<b>66 and more</b>	<b>3,02</b>	<b>3,25</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>Elementary school</b>	<b>2,91</b>	<b>3,10</b>
	<b>High school</b>	<b>3,06</b>	<b>3,30</b>
	<b>University</b>	<b>3,40</b>	<b>3,68</b>
<b>Profession</b>	<b>Free professions, management</b>	<b>3,33</b>	<b>3,65</b>
	<b>Clerks</b>	<b>3,20</b>	<b>3,35</b>
	<b>Workers</b>	<b>2,86</b>	<b>3,05</b>
	<b>Students</b>	<b>2,92</b>	<b>3,23</b>
	<b>Housewives</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>3,14</b>
	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>2,96</b>	<b>3,23</b>
	<b>Retired</b>	<b>3,12</b>	<b>3,35</b>
<b>Social involvement scale</b>	<b>Lower social involvement</b>	<b>2,58</b>	<b>2,81</b>
	<b>Medium social involvement</b>	<b>3,18</b>	<b>3,43</b>
	<b>High social involvement</b>	<b>3,84</b>	<b>4,02</b>
<b>Political orientation</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>3,30</b>	<b>3,53</b>
	<b>Centre</b>	<b>3,06</b>	<b>3,25</b>
	<b>Right</b>	<b>3,30</b>	<b>3,70</b>
<b>Parties voted for in 2003 elections</b>	<b>HDZ</b>	<b>3,32</b>	<b>3,66</b>
	<b>HNS</b>	<b>3,61</b>	<b>3,74</b>
	<b>HSP</b>	<b>3,22</b>	<b>3,58</b>
	<b>HSS</b>	<b>3,21</b>	<b>3,46</b>
	<b>Coalition SDP/LS/Libra/IDS</b>	<b>3,39</b>	<b>3,70</b>
	<b>Other</b>	<b>2,98</b>	<b>3,11</b>

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In order to get a full picture of the general interest in elections, it was necessary to observe possible demographic differences in the general population sample. Overall, it can be said that the trend found in the social involvement scale can be also detected in interest in politics and elections: men are more interested in elections than women, adults are more interested than younger and older respondents, respondents with university degrees are more interested in elections than elementary and high school degree holders. Overall, the findings show that respondents with greater degree of social involvement *tend also to be more interested in elections and politics in general* as well as in the last 2003 November elections than respondents with lower or medium social involvement degrees. For this reason members of trade unions who have the highest social involvement degrees also show the greatest interest both in general politics and in the 2003 elections.

*Furthermore, results show that the respondents supporting right-wing and left-wing parties are more interested in general elections and were more interested in the November 2003 elections than supporters of parties of the center.*

Results of in-depth interviews show that the respondents who voted in the last parliamentary elections in November 2003 also voted in the elections preceding these and tend to vote in all elections, including parliamentary, presidential and local elections. In general, these respondents show greater interest in participating in elections than respondents who did not vote. The majority of respondents who did not vote in the last elections usually had not voted in the previous ones as well, but, according to their testimonies during in-depth interviews, they became disappointed in political events in Croatia and decided not to support any specific party in the last elections.

# EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

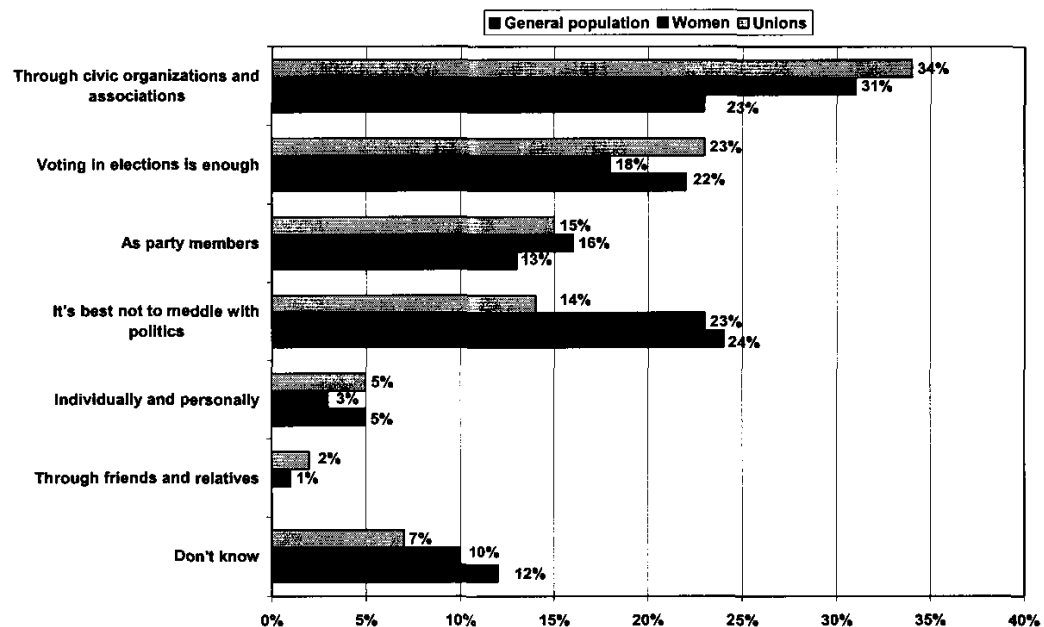
In order to investigate how important as a way of participating in political life elections were, respondents were asked a question in which they were supposed to grade the best way of being included in the political life. Almost one fourth of all respondents from the general population (22%) and union sample (23%) believe that it is enough to vote in elections. Women believe slightly less that voting as an act of participating in political life is enough (18%).

According to the results, union members believe that the best way to be included in politics is through civic organizations (34%). This result is not surprising since these respondents already participate in an organization, and they support political activities within associations.

One of the best ways to "participate" in politics, according to women and the general population, is by not being involved in politics at all (women 23%, general population 24%), a result that supports small interest in politics among the three samples.

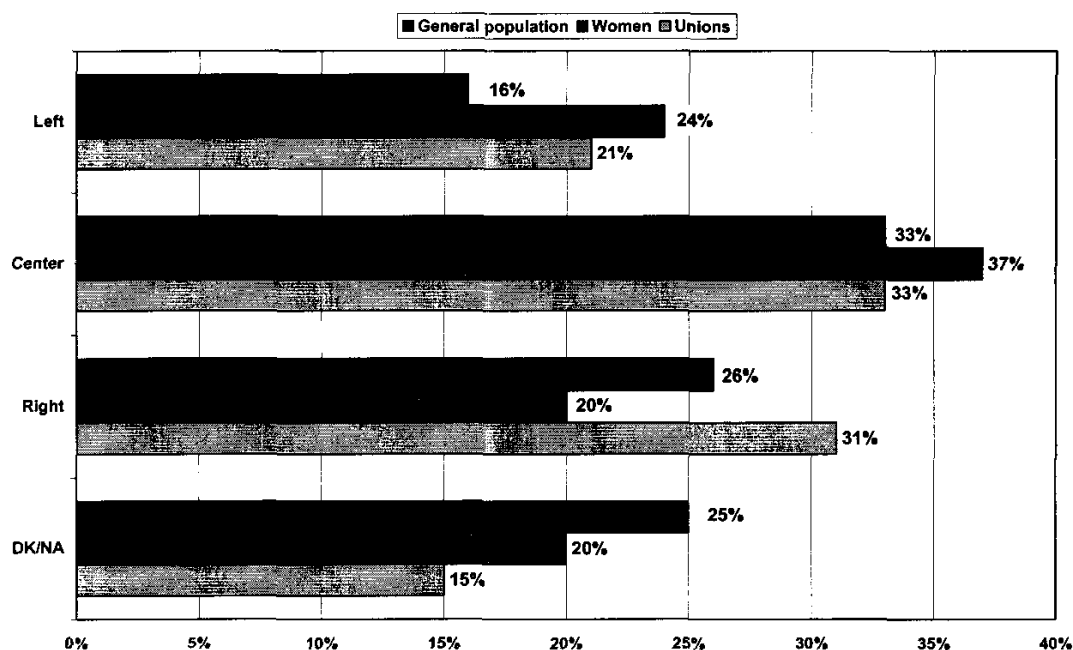
All three samples agree that the least effective way of participating in political life is through personal involvement and through friends and relatives.

Figure 3. Best way to participate in the political life – all three samples



It was interesting to find out general political orientation of respondents from all three samples. The greatest number of respondents from all three samples perceives their political orientation as centrist. Slightly more women (37%) than union members (33%) and the general population (33%) identify their political views with center-oriented parties. Further, one fourth of women (24%) support left-oriented parties, while the lowest number of women (20%) gives support to right-oriented parties. A similar trend can be seen in the union sample and the general population. Respondents from these two samples tend to support right parties more than left ones.

Figure 4. Political orientation – all three samples



According to the results, in the general population sample there are more right-oriented respondents who voted in the 2003 elections than who did not vote. The same trend can be seen in the union sample, while women who perceive themselves as left-oriented voted more often in the 2003 elections. The greatest number of respondents from all three samples who did not vote identify themselves as supporters of centrist parties.

Respondents were shown a list of problems that Croatian government was facing and needed to solve. They were then asked to point out three problems which, in their opinion, the government should deal with first.

All three samples agree that the government's main priority should be to increase the standard of living. Furthermore, respondents from all three samples believe that the government should reduce

unemployment. The third problem emphasized by all three samples is elimination of corruption and crime. Here, the union members consider elimination of crime and corruption to be more important (45%) than participants from the general population (34%) and women sample (40%), although all three rate this problem as one of the three priorities of Croatian government.

Even though respondents from the three samples agree on the first three problems, there are some differences among them regarding other problems that the government must solve. General population (28%) tends to believe that Croatian government should improve the situation in agriculture more than is believed by the union members (17%) or women (18%).

Whereas the three samples agree that the government must increase the general standard of living, there is a difference among the samples with regard to increasing the standard of living of pensioners. While 24% of the general population respondents and 18% of women believe that this problem should be resolved, only 4% of the union members consider this to be Croatian government's priority.

Less women (9%) than the general population (13%) and union members (17%) believe that it should be the government's priority to protect the dignity of the War for the Homeland.

In general, all three populations believe that national identity, demographic revival of Croatia, construction of highways and human rights are at the bottom of the priority list of political actions.

Table 4. Priorities of political actions

	General population	Women	Unions
Increasing the standard of living	62%	67%	68%
Reducing unemployment	56%	61%	52%
Elimination of corruption and crime	34%	40%	45%
Improving the situation in the agriculture	28%	18%	17%
Improvement of health care	18%	17%	22%
Increasing the standard of living of pensioners	24%	18%	4%
Accession to the European Union	17%	13%	17%
Protecting the dignity of the War for the Homeland	13%	9%	17%
Judicial reform	12%	13%	16%
Tourism development	10%	13%	11%
Investment in science and education	7%	13%	10%
Fighting grey economy	6%	8%	8%
Maintaining national identity	3%	2%	4%
Demographic revival of the country	3%	3%	3%
Construction of highways and other infrastructure	3%	3%	3%
Development of human rights and gender equality	2%	4%	2%

In all three samples there is no difference between the respondents who voted and those who did not vote in their attitude as to what should be the priority of political actions.

#### 4.1.3 November 2003 elections

In order to determine what motivates respondents to get-out-to-vote and to test the effectiveness of GOTV campaigns, it was necessary to see how many respondents actually voted in the last parliamentary elections held in November 2003.

According to the results obtained from this research, approximately the same percentage in all three samples voted. Results obtained show that 81% of the general population voted. This result is not surprising since people who did not vote in the elections are usually more likely to refuse to participate in a research after the elections. In other words, those who voted are more likely to participate in a research about elections than those who did not vote.

Results show that in the general population sample there is a significant difference between male and female respondents and their voting turnout in the last elections. More male (85%) than female (77%) respondents voted. These results support the ones mentioned while discussing the scale of social involvement in which it was found that men are more socially and politically involved than women.

Furthermore, a similar trend, found out in the previous section, can be noticed here: adult respondents, respondents with university degrees and respondents with high social engagement voted more often than other respondents. Also, participants supporting right-oriented parties had a higher turnout in elections and voted in larger numbers than supporters of other parties.

In order to find out the main reasons why respondents turned out at the elections in November 2003 and voted, an open-ended question was asked, i.e. a question to which respondents give their answers and express their reasons spontaneously.

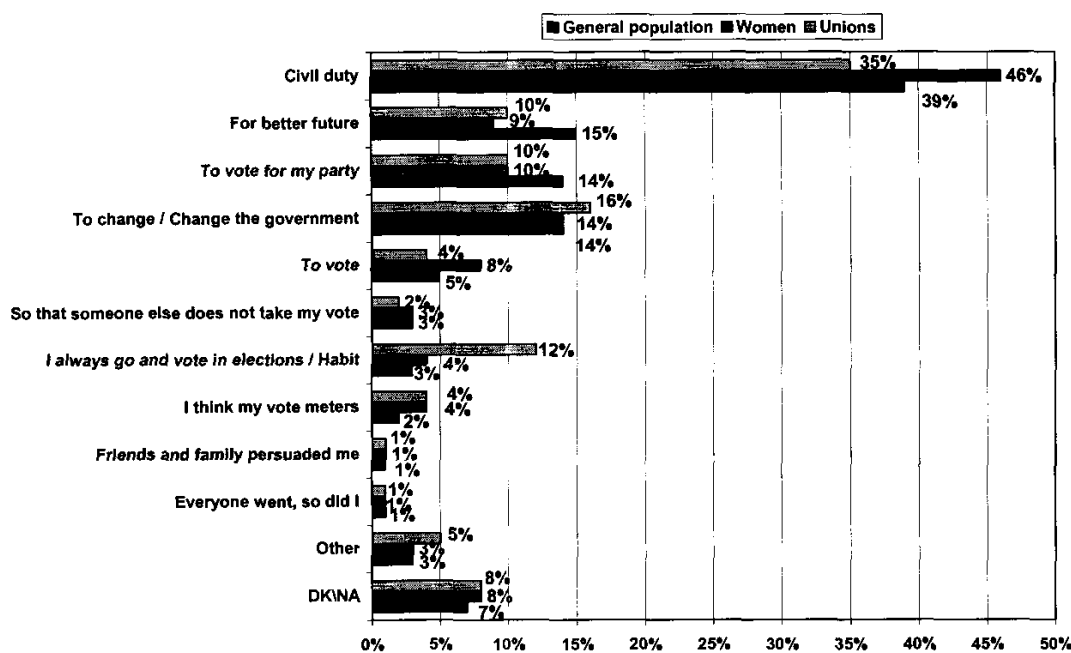
Overall, respondents feel it was their civil duty to vote; most of the respondents from all three samples *singled out this as the main reason for voting in the last elections*. The same result was discussed in the previous chapter, in which it was pointed out that respondents from all three samples show high level of moral responsibility toward their homeland.

A smaller percentage of respondents from the three samples went out to vote in order to change the government, or to support "their" party, or hoping that future would become better if they voted.

*Overall, there are no great differences among the samples regarding voting motivators*. However, the results show one difference, which can be seen in Figure 7: while the percentage of women (4%) and general population (3%) who always vote is small, 12% of union members always vote in the elections, and vote by habit. This outcome can be linked with the already mentioned finding that union members are socially and politically more engaged.

# EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Figure 5. Reasons for getting out and voting in elections



In addition to expressing reasons for voting in November 2003 spontaneously, respondents were presented with a list of possible reasons and asked to state how important for them personally each of the reasons was.

In general, there are no great differences among the three samples and their reasons to vote in the last parliamentary elections in Croatia. The results are consistent with the already discussed findings. All respondents from this research felt it was their citizens' duty to vote in the last parliamentary elections and that's why they voted. They also agree that they always vote in elections, a statement not often heard from women and the general population sample in the open-ended question (as shown in Figure 7). Also, one of the main reasons why respondents voted was to support "their" party or coalition.

Although the general population and women were relatively stimulated by the atmosphere before the elections (gp 2.8; women 2.7), the overall atmosphere had lesser influence on trade union members (2.3). Also, messages and campaigns had lesser influence on the union members (2.2) than on the general population (2.7) and women (2.5). From this finding it can be said that the atmosphere and party messages had the least influence on trade union members. Since trade union members are the ones socially and politically most engaged, i.e. they show high political awareness, these respondents do not need election campaigns as an additional encouragement to vote. These results indicate that the atmosphere created by GOTV campaigns did not have significant influence on the voting turnout.

Friends and family had the smallest impact on all three samples. Also, respondents did not vote for the reason of benefiting from the victory of their party.

Table 5. Reasons for getting out on elections – means – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
It was my citizen's duty	4,63	4,61	4,61
I always get out to vote	4,5	4,46	4,46
I wanted my party/coalition to win	4,34	4,19	4,32
My voice is important	4,03	4,03	3,92
Elections are important for the future of a country	3,98	4,03	3,97
I could state my dissatisfaction with that current government	3,55	3,51	3,54
I was stimulated by the whole atmosphere before elections, I wanted to participate in it	2,79	2,66	2,3
Election campaigns and messages of parties encouraged me to get out on elections	2,7	2,51	2,24
All members of my family and friends went to polling stations to vote so I went too	2,68	2,6	2,35
I would benefit from the victory of my party/coalition	2,27	2,16	1,89
I voted because other people talked me into it (friends/family)	1,56	1,61	1,49

A similar question was asked in in-depth interviews. Both the respondents who voted and those who did not were asked to present their reasons for doing so. Results of in-depth interviews show that respondents who voted in the November 2003 elections find purpose in voting; they were motivated, for one reason or another, to get out and vote. Most of the respondents say that there is a purpose in voting because *we are the ones who decide who will win and who will be in power*. These respondents perceive elections as their opportunity to do something, to change things and to participate in the political life in Croatia:

- *This is the only way for us to say what we want.*

Those who voted express belief and hope that *it will be better, there will be progress* if they vote.

Others say they voted because they wanted to overthrow the ruling party and express their dissatisfaction with the party in power. Other respondents say they voted to give support to the party they sympathized. There are also some who say that had they not voted their vote would have gone to an opposing party, which they did not want to happen. There are participants who say that it is everyone's right and a duty as a citizen to vote in elections and they too felt it was their duty to turn up at a polling station and vote.

Although the main point of this research was not to find out which party respondents voted for, it was nevertheless interesting to find out if there were any differences among the three populations. In the November 2003 elections the largest number of respondents from all three samples voted for HDZ. This finding supports the previously mentioned result that respondents from all three samples perceive themselves as largely right-oriented in political views. A smaller number voted for coalition



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SDP/IDS/LS/Libra, although more women than the other two samples voted for this coalition, the result previously mentioned as well.

This question was not asked in in-depth interviews for two reasons: the first reason being that it was not the main aim of in-depth interviews and that other results needed to be found in these interviews. The second reason being that, very likely, respondents would not be willing to say who they voted for and that could jeopardize their confidence in an interviewer, which in turn could jeopardize the whole interview situation.

Respondents who did not vote in the November 2003 elections were asked to choose, from a list, possible reasons why they decided not to vote. All respondents say that the main reason for not voting was *their disappointment in Croatian politicians*. They also perceive that their vote cannot change the situation so they decided not to vote.

Although respondents from all three samples have on average the same reasons for not voting, differences among the samples can be found in some statements. More respondents from the general population and women samples than from the trade union sample state that they did not vote because they had other, more important obligations. Also, respondents from the general population tend to agree more that their vote is not important, while trade union members are more likely to believe that their vote is more important.

Table 6. Reasons for not getting out on elections – means – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
I'm disappointed in politicians in Croatia	4,15	4,03	4,39
I cannot change anything by voting in elections	4,05	3,89	4,18
I'm not interested in politics and elections	3,9	3,71	3,77
I had other, more important duties	3,62	3,54	3,13
None of the parties and coalitions suited me	3,51	3,28	3,86
My voice is not important	3,46	3,21	2,95
There was no atmosphere which could encourage me to vote in elections	3,39	3,34	3,37
They are all the same so I could not decide who to vote for	3,37	3,28	3,84
This election didn't seem important	3,06	3,29	3,22

Similar findings were found in in-depth interviews. Respondents who did not vote in the last elections express their dissatisfaction with politics and political life in Croatia. These respondents in general do not expect any changes and believe that no changes are possible by voting. These results were also found in the quantitative part of the research, as can be seen in Table 6.

In general, respondents who did not vote see no point in voting. According to their testimonies in in-depth interviews, they believe that all politicians are the same and that nothing changes in elections.

- *Nothing changes apart from new faces, new houses, and new yachts. Everything else remains the same. The actors change, but the shades remain the same.*

There are some respondents who show no interest in politics and no interest in voting, which they proved by deciding not to vote.

- *Voting did not cross my mind. My calendar is full of dates that I must fulfill: I have a scheduled hearing for my apartment, I have a scheduled appointment with a lawyer because of alimentation, I have a parental meeting in my children's school, I have a schedule to go to an unemployment office. Those are the days circled in my calendar, not the elections day.*

Respondents also show overall disappointment. This can be seen in the following verbatim:

- *It doesn't matter who I vote for because at the end all politicians will disappoint.*
- *We knew in advance who would win, no point in voting.*
- *I didn't want to be part of the circus.*

Overall, the results of in-depth interviews show that the respondents who did not vote, apart from not being interested in politics, feel revolt, anger, indignation, embitterment and disappointment toward political life in Croatia.

#### 4.1.4 Previous elections (2001 and 2000)

In order to investigate the respondents' voting habits in general and to find out possible differences among the three samples in that respect, respondents were asked if they had voted in local elections in May 2001.

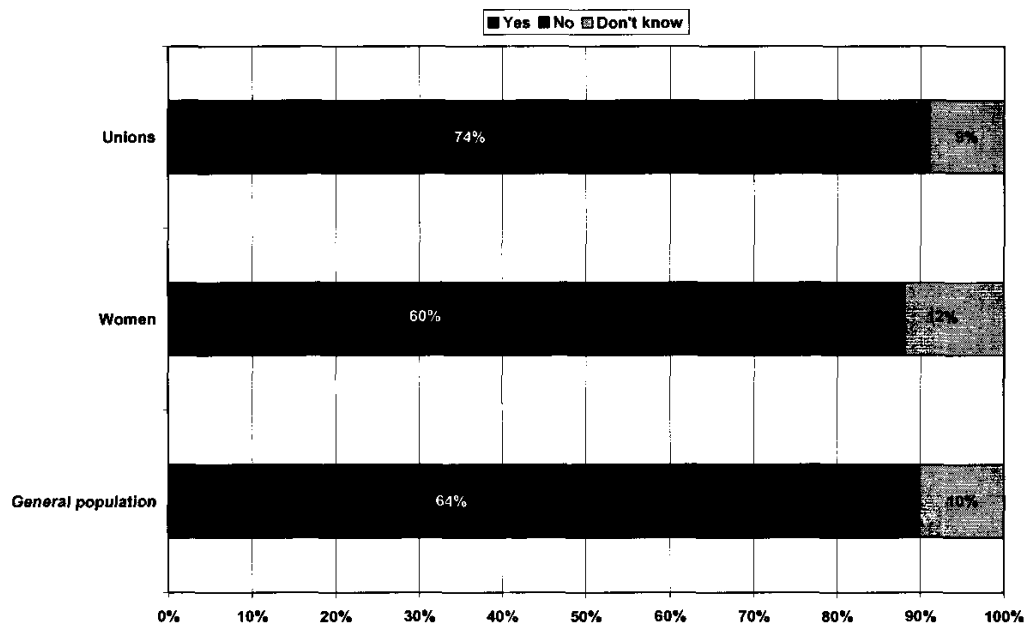
According to the results, the majority of the respondents from all three populations had voted in the local elections in May 2001. There are some differences between the three samples. As could be assumed from previously discussed results as well as following the already mentioned findings in this research, the highest percentage of voting turnout at the local elections in May 2001 was among the union members (74%). These respondents show the highest political awareness and high political engagement. Also, in the previously mentioned results (as seen in Figure 7), union members score the highest percentage among those who spontaneously say that their reason to vote is "by habit", i.e. that they always vote in all elections, which is further confirmed by this result.

Slightly more respondents from the general population sample (64%) than from the women sample (60%) voted in the local elections in May 2001.

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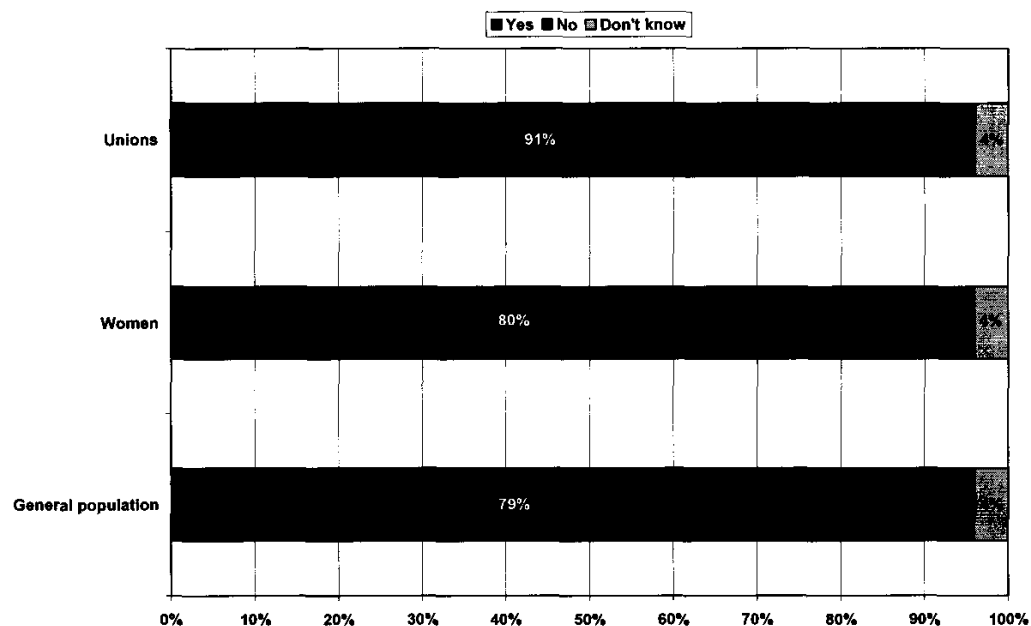
Similar findings were found regarding the parliamentary elections in January 2000. Again, the highest turnout at voting was recorded for the union members (91%), somewhat less for the women (80%) and general population (79%).

Figure 6. Did you vote in local elections in May 2001? – All three samples



EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Figure 7. Did you vote in parliamentary elections in 2000? – All three samples



Respondents who did not vote in the November 2003 elections, but had voted in the elections of January 2000, were asked to say why they had voted in 2000 but did not vote in 2003.

The reasons presented by the respondents are largely related to disappointments in the government. Many respondents also say that they did not vote in the last parliamentary elections because they did not know who to vote for. In addition to these answers, the general population perceives differences in the atmosphere of these and the elections of 2003; 8% of the general population believes the last elections did not seem important and the atmosphere was less motivating to get-out-to-vote.

Table 7. Those who voted in the elections in 2000 and not in 2003 – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
N	95	29	26
I didn't know who to vote for	22%	21%	38%
I was not able to come	19%	21%	
The government I voted for in 2000 disappointed me	13%	21%	15%
I am disappointed in the government	9%	7%	
Atmosphere was different, these elections didn't seem important	8%		8%
The only important thing was to overthrow HDZ	5%		4%
Illness	5%	7%	
Other	9%	10%	31%
DK/NA	12%	14%	4%

## EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Similar reasons were presented by respondents in in-depth interviews. Most of those who did not vote in the last elections had voted in the previous parliamentary elections in January 2000, but having become disappointed in the government, decided not to vote in 2003.

- *If people can find some politicians who will do something for the future of our country, let them vote. I, after the last elections and disappointments in the last government, could not find anyone to vote for; I could not find anyone I could trust.*

### 4.1.5 The atmosphere before the elections

In-depth interviews show that the respondents who voted in the last parliamentary elections perceived the elections day as an important day for them personally and for Croatia in general. They describe their feelings on the elections day as follows:

- *Excited*
- *Waiting for results*
- *Expecting changes*
- *Feeling different*
- *Fear who will come to power*
- *Tension*

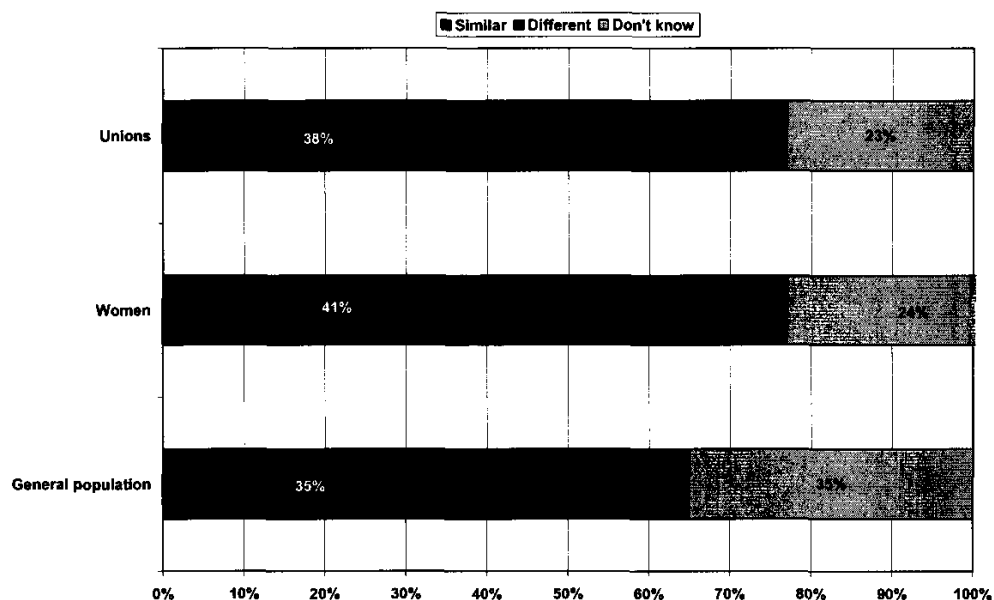
Furthermore, the respondents who voted say that the elections day

- *It was an important day for all citizens because we all hoped for better and expected changes.*
- *My decision to vote was more important than the day itself.*

The respondents who did not vote mostly express their anger and embitterment on the elections day.

In the quantitative phase of the research, respondents were asked to try to recall the atmosphere before the 2000 elections and compare it with the atmosphere before the 2003 elections. Results show *no differences among the three samples and their comparisons of atmospheres before the 2000 and 2003 elections*. Also, approximately the same percentage of respondents perceives no great differences in the 2000 and 2003 pre-elections atmosphere.

Figure 8. Atmosphere before the elections – All three samples



Respondents who perceived similarities between the 2000 and the 2003 pre-elections atmosphere were further asked to point out those similarities. The largest number of respondents from all three populations believes that false promises on the part of politicians is what the last two parliamentary elections in Croatia have in common. Furthermore, respondents believe there was a noticeable “fight for power” in both elections. Regarding the fight for power, there is a significant difference between the samples. Union members (29%) more often believe that the fight for power was characteristic of both elections than the general population (16%) or women (17%). The rest of respondents’ answers can be seen in Table 8.

EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Table 8. Atmosphere before the elections – similarities between elections in 2000 and 2003 – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
N	352	162	149
Big, false promises	30%	35%	27%
Fight for power	16%	17%	29%
They are all the same	14%	19%	14%
Promotion	8%	12%	10%
Wish for change	5%	1%	5%
Politics	4%	1%	
Personal interests	4%	4%	1%
Pre-elections euphoria and atmosphere	3%	9%	7%
Elections, voters' response	3%	2%	1%
Expecting results, uncertainty	2%	1%	1%
Dissatisfaction, people's disappointment	2%	1%	1%
Expecting better, hope for a better tomorrow	2%	1%	2%
Everything went peacefully	1%		
Other	7%	6%	8%
DKNA	11%	11%	11%

Respondents who said that there had been differences between the elections were further asked to say what those differences were. Respondents from all three populations agree that the 2000 pre-elections atmosphere was more euphoric and it is still vivid in their minds. There was also a difference in campaigns and advertisements used by parties, and this is perceived as one of the differences by all three populations. Other answers can be seen in Table 9.

There is a significant number of respondents who perceive differences in the atmosphere between the last and the previous parliamentary elections. Many also vividly remember the 2000 elections atmosphere, parts of which were quite forceful, insistent and powerful GOTV campaigns.

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Table 9. Atmosphere before the elections – differences between elections in 2000 and 2003 – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
N	296	142	154
Atmosphere (more vivid, euphoric)	22%	13%	21%
Campaigns (ads, costs)	11%	11%	12%
Wish for change	10%	8%	10%
Promises	7%	5%	3%
2000 was about overtaking the government	7%	6%	5%
2000 more optimism, hope	5%	6%	1%
Expectations	4%	6%	6%
People's mood/disappointed bitter people	4%	4%	4%
Programs of the parties	3%	4%	3%
Response rate/number of interested citizens	3%	7%	9%
Candidates, people in the parties	3%	1%	
It was more emphasized then	2%	1%	
One knew who was going to win	2%	4%	1%
More tensions /more interesting	2%	2%	5%
These elections were more routine	2%		3%
2003 better elections	1%	1%	1%
Competition of the parties	1%	3%	3%
More democracy	1%	1%	
2000 better elections	1%		1%
Other	14%	31%	23%
DK/NA	15%	13%	12%

Respondents were asked if they recalled any specific elements from the 2000 elections atmosphere. Around three fourths of the respondents from all three samples cannot recall any specific element from the 2000 elections atmosphere. It can be assumed that the respondents cannot point out any specific element because the 2000 elections took place four years ago so it is somewhat difficult for the respondents to remember details.

Those who do remember, however, particularly remember unfulfilled promises - this is almost equally recalled by respondents from all three samples. Furthermore, they remember joy and euphoria as well as a desire for change. More women (10%) than the general population (5%) or union members (3%) recall the "200.000 working places" that were promised, although this difference is not statistically significant. It can be seen from the results that no respondents mention GOTV campaigns as a specific element that they remember.

Table 10. Atmosphere before the elections – some specific elements of the 2000 elections atmosphere – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
Yes	13%	16%	15%
No	74%	75%	78%
Don't know	13%	10%	7%



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Table 11. Specific element – the 2000 elections atmosphere – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
N	128	62	60
Big, unfulfilled promises	30%	24%	23%
Joy, euphoria and optimism because of the victory	14%	10%	17%
Feeling and wish for changes	9%	10%	5%
Overthrowing HDZ from the government	8%	3%	10%
Advertising	6%	3%	12%
Death of president Tudman	5%		
200.000 working places	5%	10%	3%
Atmosphere around SDP	3%	5%	3%
Response rate	2%	2%	2%

Respondents were asked if they recalled any specific elements from the 2003 elections atmosphere. Responses are similar to results to the question regarding the 2000 elections atmosphere: three fourths of the respondents from all three samples do not recall any specific elements from the last parliamentary elections in Croatia.

Table 12. Atmosphere before the elections – some specific elements of the 2003 election atmosphere – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
Yes	15%	19%	19%
No	74%	75%	74%
Don't know	10%	7%	7%

Those who do recall some specific elements point out promises as something they particularly remember, especially the respondents from the general population sample. Women (23%) remember the campaign by HDZ more often than the general population (13%) or union members (7%). Union members (21%) recall more expensive campaigns and ads than women (14%) or the general population (13%). No respondents explicitly mention GOTV campaigns.

Table 13. Specific element – the 2003 elections atmosphere – all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
N	151	74	73
Promises	22%	14%	7%
Aggressive, strong HDZ campaign	13%	23%	7%
Big and expensive campaigns and ads	13%	14%	21%
Dirty political games	9%	8%	4%
Sanader's ads and speeches	8%	7%	14%
Expected victory of HDZ	7%		3%
Pre-elections promises (lower taxes, pensioners)	5%	12%	4%
More parties	5%	4%	
Expectation, uncertainty	3%	4%	
Other	14%	19%	44%
DK/NA	5%	7%	5%

## EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

When asked what they particularly liked or disliked in the 2003 elections atmosphere, respondents participating in in-depth interviews said that they particularly disliked *promises and lies* parties presented them with. Some respondents said they would not like to remember the elections atmosphere but would like to forget what had happened during the elections period.

- *I'd like to forget this because this was a circus.*

Some respondents express that parties insulted each others in the elections period and they disliked that. That was something the respondents did not approve of and say that that was *not polite and not fair*. Some particularly felt there was expressed hatred among parties:

- *I remember fists high in the air and hatred toward the government that had previously been in power.*

## 4.2 GOTV campaigns

Effectiveness and evaluation of GOTV campaigns was the main goal of our research, therefore we divided this second part of our research into several sequences:

1. Awareness of the campaigns
  - a. Phantom awareness
  - b. Spontaneous awareness
  - c. Aided awareness
  - d. Main message of all shown GOTV campaigns
2. Evaluation of ads
  - a. General liking
  - b. Suitability of ads
  - c. Slogan
3. Perception and attitudes toward GOTV campaigns and presented ads
4. Respondents' perception of GOTV campaigns' influence on their decision to get out and vote in elections

### 4.2.1 Awareness and recall of campaigns

#### a. Phantom awareness

Phantom awareness could be described as the most rigid measure of evaluating awareness of individual advertisers' advertisements in a given period of time. It is based on how many respondents who are included in a research state that they noticed any one of the advertisements by any advertiser and that without stating the category or advertiser in question. We adjusted this question a little because for this research we had to specify a time period; by mentioning the pre-elections period we excluded all other advertisements. The main reason for using this measure was to see if any of GOTV campaigns would be mentioned by respondents on this level of awareness.

In the context of this research, the adjusted phantom awareness is based on the following question:

***During the pre-elections period, various advertisements related to the elections appeared in media. Can you recall any advertisement from that period? What was the advertisement about?***

More than half of the respondents from all three samples do not remember any advertisement from the pre-elections period, but union members and women remember ads from the pre-elections period more than the respondents from the general population. Elements of HDZ campaigns are the ones mentioned by most of those respondents who do remember advertisements from the pre-elections period (in all three samples). Union members and women remember SDP, HNS and HSS campaigns in a somewhat higher percentage. Joško Lokas as the main figure of GONG campaigns was mentioned by 1% of the respondents from the women sample. Thus GONG ad manages to break through in at

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least one of the three target groups in this first and most rigid measure. Domination of elements from HDZ campaigns was reaffirmed by the results of the next question in which we asked about the advertiser of mentioned campaigns. More than ¾ of the respondents from all three samples linked the advertisements recalled to HDZ as an advertiser. HSS and HNS as advertisers are mentioned more by the general population respondents, and SDP and HDZ as advertisers are more mentioned by trade union members.

Table 14. Phantom awareness in all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
<b>HDZ</b>			
"Pokrenimo Hrvatsku!"	10%	13%	16%
Sanader	4%	8%	9%
Sanader – "Pokrenimo Hrvatsku"	2%	2%	2%
Sanader and Kosor with other party members	2%		2%
"Zna se!"	1%	0%	2%
Sanader walks	1%	1%	
Sanader with citizens (young people, pensioners)	1%	2%	0%
HDZ- "Pokrenimo Hrvatsku"		2%	1%
Pinocchio	1%	1%	2%
Price of the gas	0%	2%	2%
You have short legs if you lie		1%	1%
<b>SDP</b>			
Da za Hrvatsku!	4%	6%	8%
Račan, in his office, by the desk	2%	2%	2%
<b>HSS</b>			
A man, a girl and a tree	3%	2%	3%
"Volim svoju zemlju"	2%	4%	2%
Zlatko Tomčić		1%	1%
<b>HNS</b>			
Vesna Pusić	2%	2%	3%
Girl on a bike	1%	3%	2%
Čačić	1%	0%	1%
<b>Other parties</b>			
Budiša and Granić	1%		1%
Miroslav Tuđman	1%	1%	0%
Letica and a horse		3%	1%
<b>Joško Lokas</b>		1%	
Other	14%	16%	16%
DKNA	66%	56%	54%

## b. Spontaneous awareness

All GOTV campaigns were advertised by non-governmental organizations so the next step of the research was to find out which of the pre-elections advertisements by non-governmental organizations respondents remembered. The question representing spontaneous awareness of GOTV campaigns was formulated in this way:

***Try to recall advertisements by non-governmental organizations that could have been seen in media during those times. What were the advertisements about?***

As shown in the next table (Table 20), elements of GONG campaigns are the most mentioned ones by respondents. About 20% of the respondents from the general population pointed out some elements of GONG campaigns. 27% of answers by women and 31% of answers by union members are in some way related to GONG. A larger number of trade unions members than respondents from the other two samples remember an ad by a non-governmental organization. Joško Lokas and the GONG campaign slogan "Ali to nije sve!" ("But that's not all!") are two specific elements mentioned by all three samples. As was the case with phantom awareness, around 2/3 of each sample couldn't remember any NGO's ad.

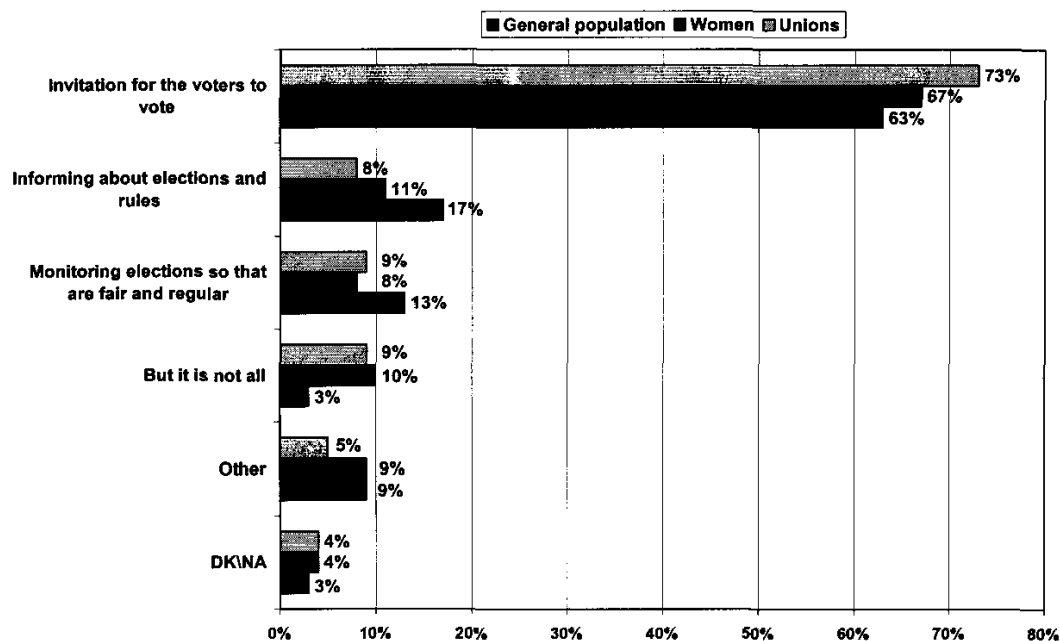
It is necessary to point out that trade unions members, besides GONG campaign, also remember HUS's advertisements.

Table 15. Try to recall advertisements by non-governmental organizations that could have been seen in media during those times. What were the advertisements about? - By all three samples

	General population	Women	Unions
Joško Lokas	10%	13%	12%
Gong	1%	2%	2%
Joško and Gong	1%	4%	1%
Joško Lokas "Ali to nije sve!"	1%	1%	2%
"Ali to nije sve!"	1%	3%	4%
Joško Lokas invites to elections	2%	1%	2%
Let's go to elections	2%	2%	7%
Joško Lokas explains	1%	0%	1%
Glasses	1%	1%	
Other	3%	2%	3%
DKNA	78%	74%	69%

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Figure 9. Main message of NGO's ads which respondents remember– respondents who spontaneously mentioned some ads by NGOs



Respondents from all three samples recognized the invitation to get out and vote as the main message of previously mentioned ads. Following are the messages informing about elections and monitoring them so they run fair and regular. Trade union members more recognize the invitation to vote whereas respondents from the general population recognize informing about elections as the main message. It can be concluded that the respondents who remembered GOTV campaigns were able to distinguish and recognize the main purpose and messages of these GOTV campaigns.

### c. Aided awareness

The next step in the research is measuring the level of aided awareness for each ad. For that reason we showed the ads to the respondents and asked them whether they have noticed these ads. The purpose of this measure is to see how many respondents in each target group did notice these GOTV campaign ads.

In face-to-face interviews a very high percentage of respondents from all three samples noticed a GONG ad. 89% of the union members did notice this advertisement, 88% of respondents from the women sample and 83% of the respondents from the general population. In most cases the ad was seen on television.

Figure 10. Can you please tell me which of these you have noticed? GONG ad

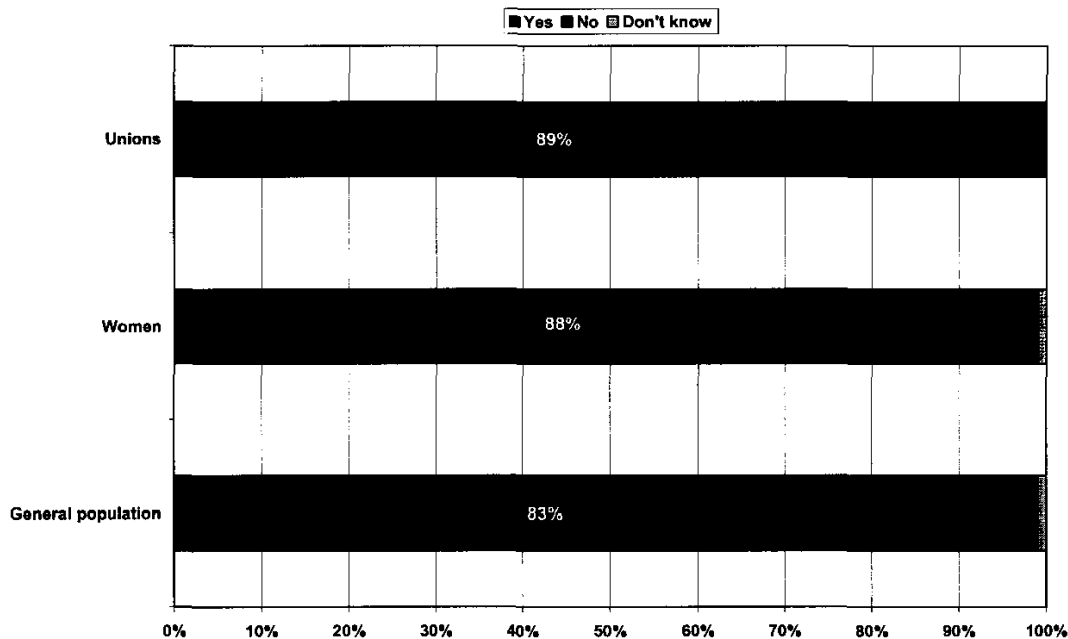


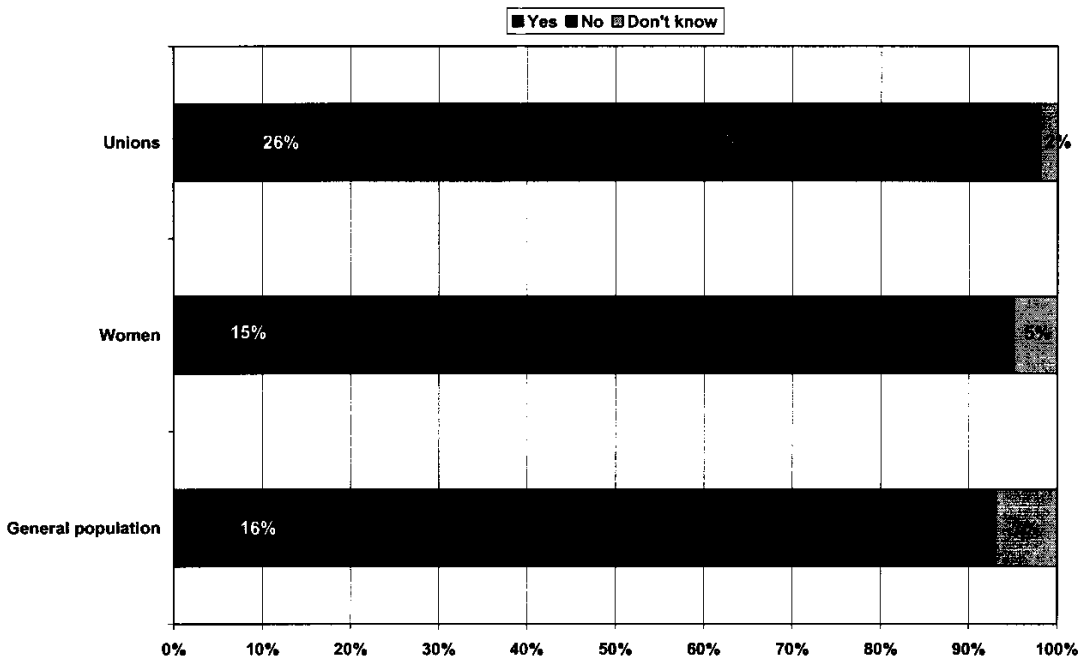
Table 16. Where did you notice a GONG ad?

	General population	Women	Unions
N	825	350	350
TV	95%	98%	97%
Printed media	10%	7%	12%
Billboards	10%	11%	13%
Radio	9%	7%	12%
Somewhere else	3%	1%	3%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%

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All other ads were noticed mostly by trade union members. Women noticed more their target group ads (Women's Section of Trade Unions and Croatian Women's Network). It can be concluded that all these advertisements managed to reach their target groups at this level of awareness, although percentages are not high. Taking into consideration the time gap between the exposure to an advertisement and the research as well as the fact that it was a less aggressive campaign in general, we can consider this quite a good result.

Figure 11. Aided awareness of a trade union ad– all three samples





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Figure 12. Aided awareness of a Women's Section of SSSH ad – all three samples

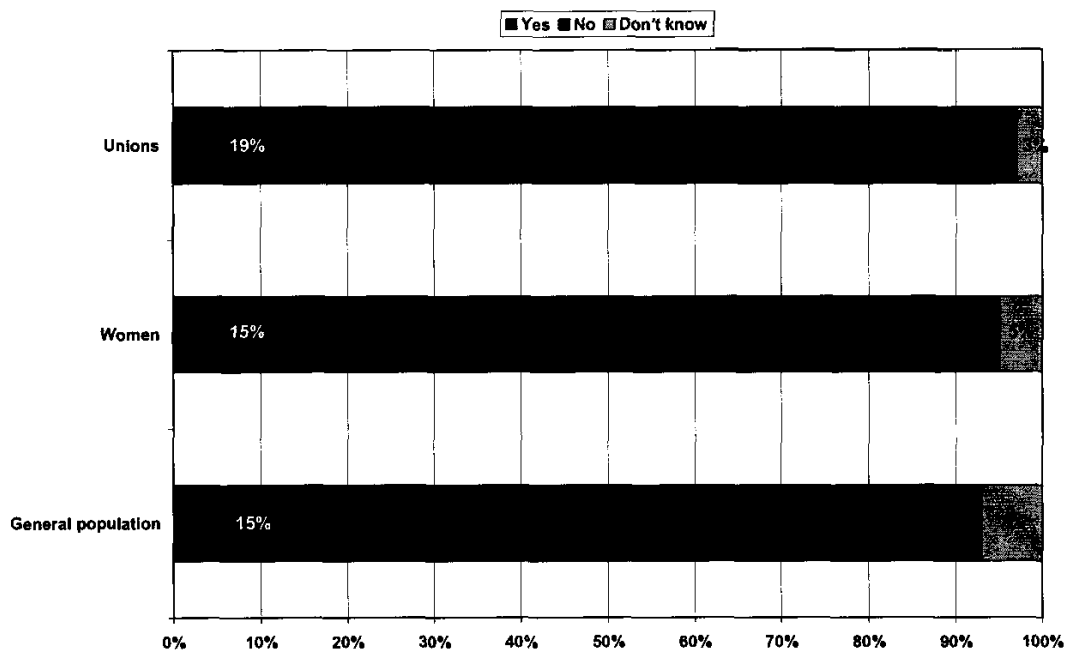
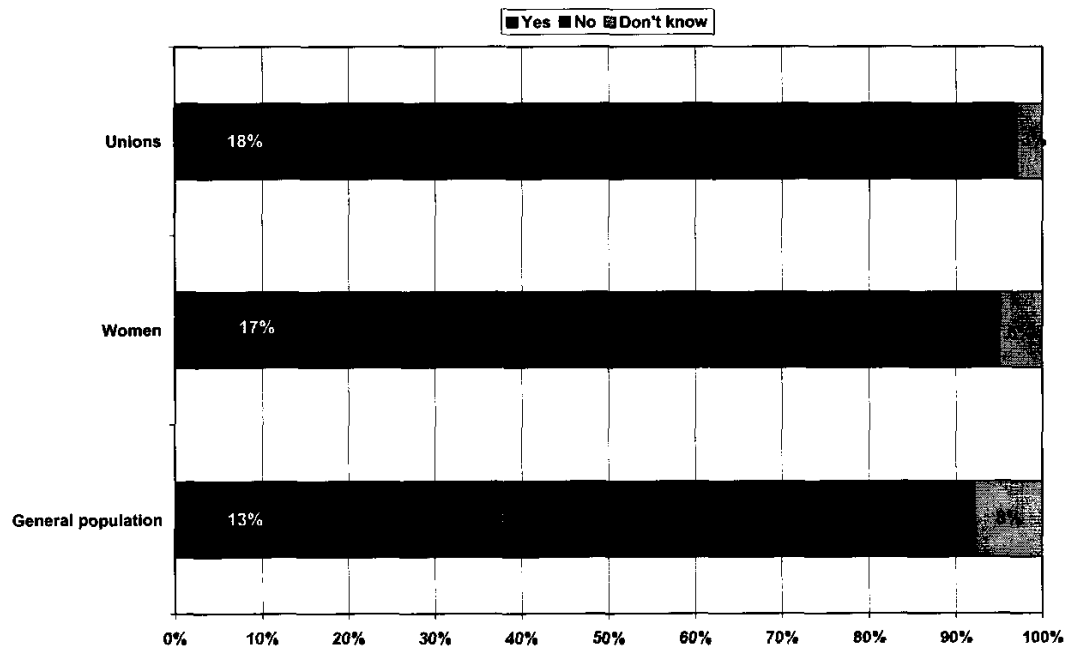
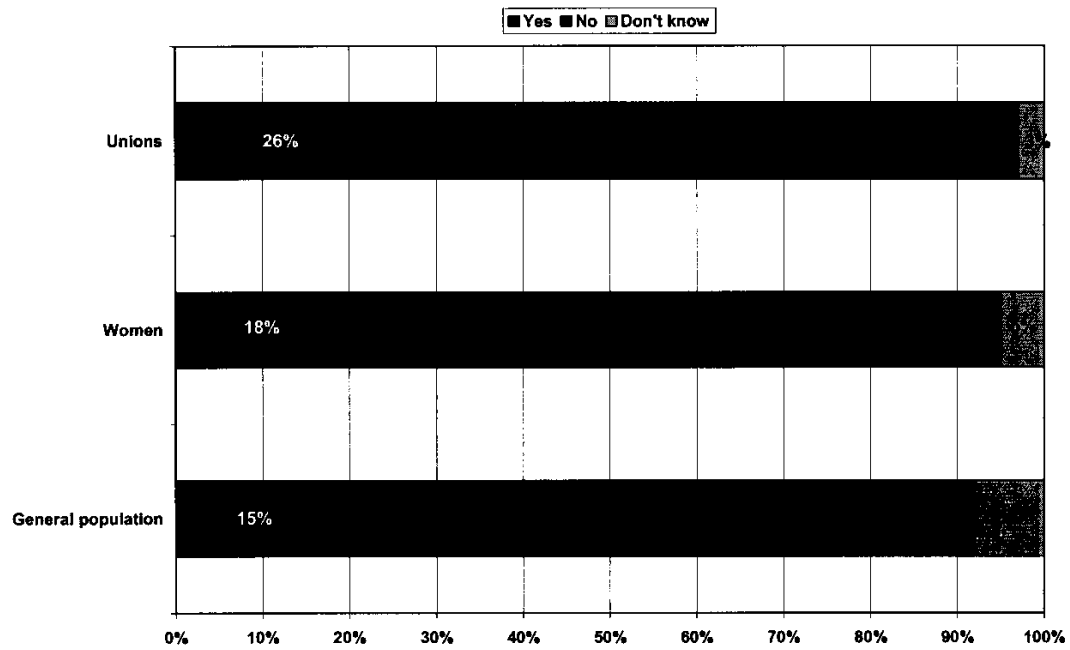


Figure 13. Aided awareness of a Croatian Women's Network ad – all three samples



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Figure 14. Aided awareness of a HUS ad – all three samples



After being asked to recall any GOTV campaign on their own, respondents participating in in-depth interviews were then encouraged to recall them, i.e. interviewers stimulated them to recall. Awareness of GOTV campaigns after stimulation was certainly larger, especially the awareness of GONG campaigns. The majority of respondents, both those who voted and those who did not, remember GONG campaigns when prompted.

- *I remember Gong. They were good. Their promotion and campaign was about how and where to vote. That was very smart. I think that people who didn't know where and how to vote understood afterwards. It was done in a good way.*
- *Gong was there to check the regularity of elections, if things are done in a right way. That's good. Such things need to be controlled.*

In-depth interviews indicate that GONG was largely perceived as an NGO whose main purpose was to regulate elections. In other words, GONG was perceived more as an organization that provided information about voting and regulated voting process than as an organization which motivated people to vote. However, there are some respondents who believe that GONG's main function was to invite population to get-out-to-vote. One respondent, who did not vote, said:

- *I think Gong had big influence on voting turnout. I think that a lot more people would not have voted had it not been for Gong.*

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Croatian Women's Network and unions' campaigns were less recalled in in-depth interviews, even when respondents were directly asked whether they remembered these campaigns. Respondents mostly say they were not interested in and did not watch campaigns on TV or read their ads during the pre-elections period. Only a few respondents could recall ads but when asked to specify what they recalled, they could not describe much.

Regarding the Croatian Women's Network one woman said:

- *Yes, I remember the campaign by women because I was thinking about how a woman needs to be disburdened. A woman is not protected in Croatia. She needs to be equal with a man, and not submissive. This is what their campaign reminded me of.*

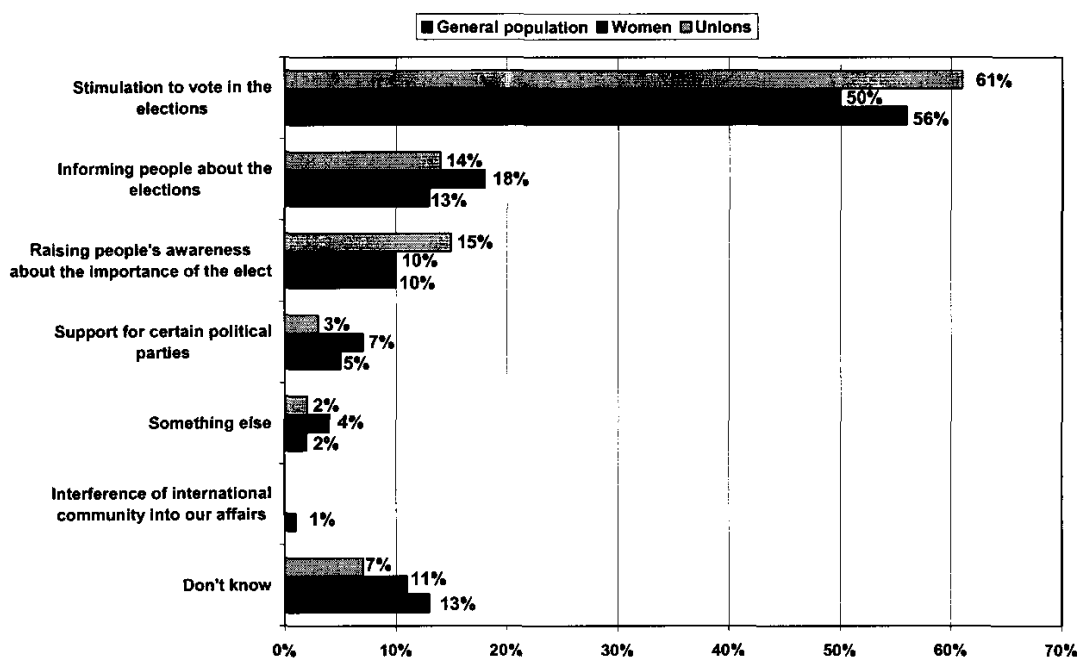
Regarding unions, one woman said:

- *They are always up-to-date. They always want something but never do much.*

#### d. The main message of ads

At the end of this part of face-to-face research we asked respondents to describe the main message of advertisements shown. More than half of the respondents describe the main message of these GOTV ads as "stimulation to vote in elections". The next most mentioned main message of ads is informing people about the elections and raising people's awareness about the importance of elections. Women point out informing people about elections more than trade union members and respondents from the general population. Therefore, we can conclude that all main points and purposes of GOTV campaigns were recognized by the respondents from all three samples and that there was no confusion in understanding the main message of GOTV campaigns.

Figure 15. How would you describe the main message of these advertisements? – All three samples



Respondents were encouraged during in-depth interviews to express their attitudes toward particular GOTV campaigns (GONG, unions, Croatian Women's Network). They were also invited to assess the importance and aim of such campaigns in Croatia.

It can be said that respondents largely have positive attitudes toward GOTV campaigns and believe their presence and function in the Croatian political scene to be very important.

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- *It is important to encourage people to vote. Citizens must become aware that the majority decides, even if a party they don't support wins. They must vote! This is the only way for us to do something. We cannot criticize politicians if we ourselves even didn't vote!*
- *Gong was successful. They informed people how to vote. I think this helped a certain group of people to vote. That's good.*
- *Gong was just like a ventilator that cools all pomposity in elections.*

Some respondents believe GONG to be a "neutral" organization. They perceive GONG largely as taking no sides:

- *Because a man became very sluggish today, there needs to be an organization that will motivate and initiate. Gong has this aim. And they are neutral in all their actions.*

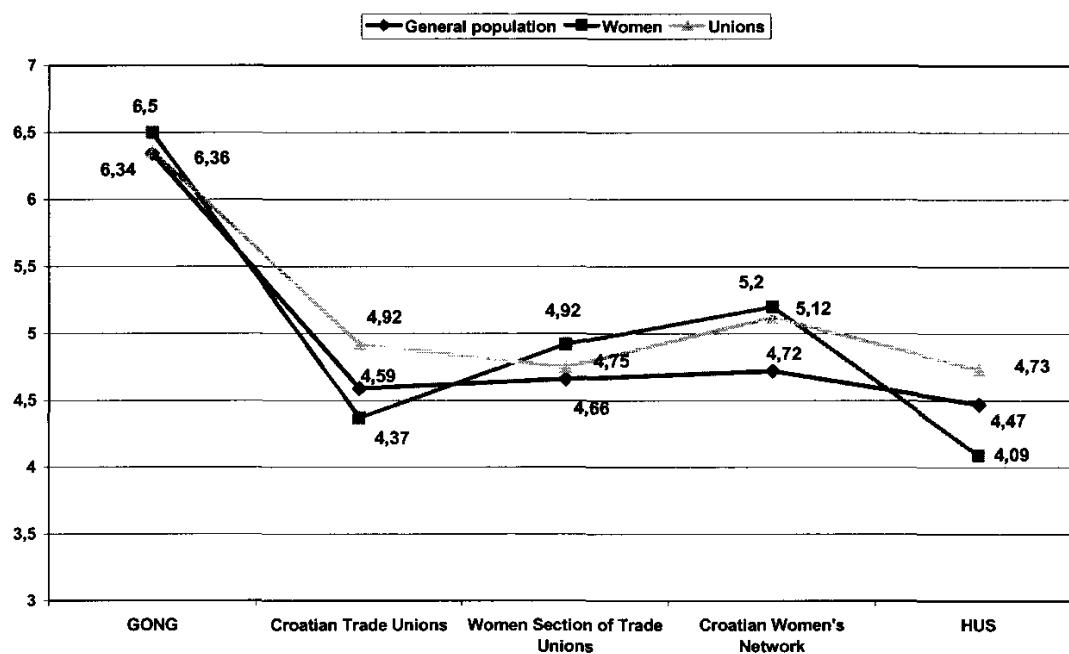
Some respondents were not sure what the aim of GOTV campaigns was. Some also believe that there is not much purpose in such campaigns.

- *I think their aim was to confuse the enemy. I don't understand what their function and role is in the elections. Maybe I'm wrong, but I feel that they don't do much during the year, and then suddenly they appear in the election period. I don't see the need for these campaigns.*
- *I think that 90% of the population did not listen to them. People decide on their own who to vote for.*

## 4.2.2 Evaluation of ads

The main focus in this phase of the research was on visual evaluation of ads (general liking), their suitability and evaluation of their slogans. Of all analyzed ads, respondents from all three samples liked the ad by GONG the most. It was the only ad with a mark higher than 5. All other ads were poorly evaluated. Trade union members like the Croatian Trade Union and HUS's ad more than women. Women and union members like the Croatian Women's Network ad more than respondents from the general population. A scale from 1 to 10 was used for this measure, where 1 means that a respondent doesn't like an ad at all and 10 means that he or she likes it very much.

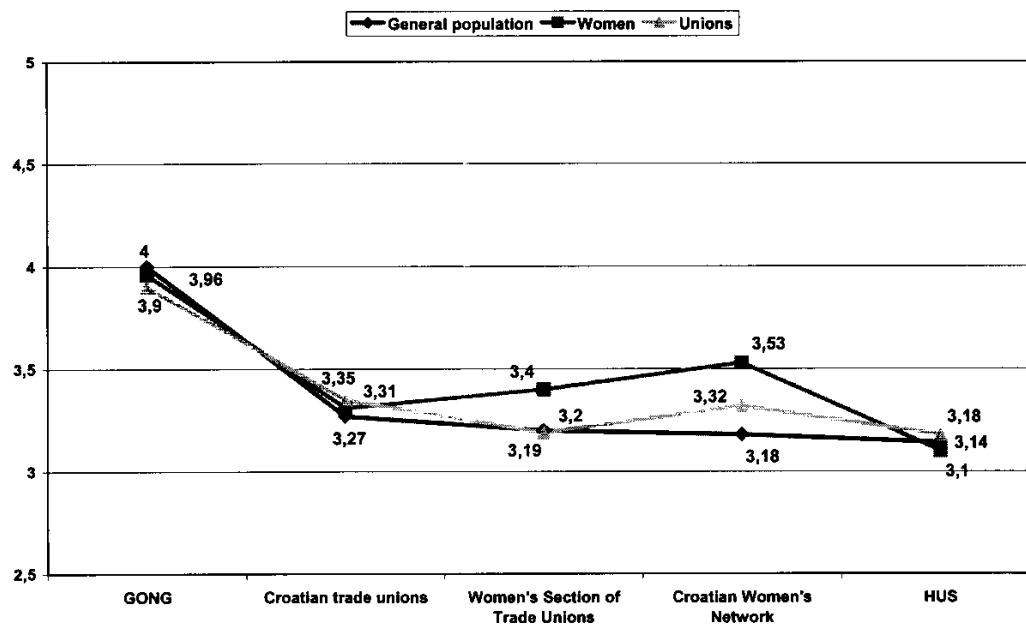
Figure 16. General liking of ads – all three samples



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Respondents were asked to evaluate the suitability of ads, i.e. whether they find them suitable for informing the public about elections. A scale from 1 to 5 was used, where 1 means that a respondent finds an ad unsuitable for this purpose and 5 means that an ad is suitable. Respondents from all three samples find the ad by GONG as the most suitable one for informing the public about elections. The average mark for suitability of the GONG ad is around 4; other ads were evaluated with marks between 3 and 3.5. Women find the Women's Section of Trade Unions' ads more suitable than trade union members and respondents from the general population. Also, women find the Croatian Women's Network ad more suitable than the general population.

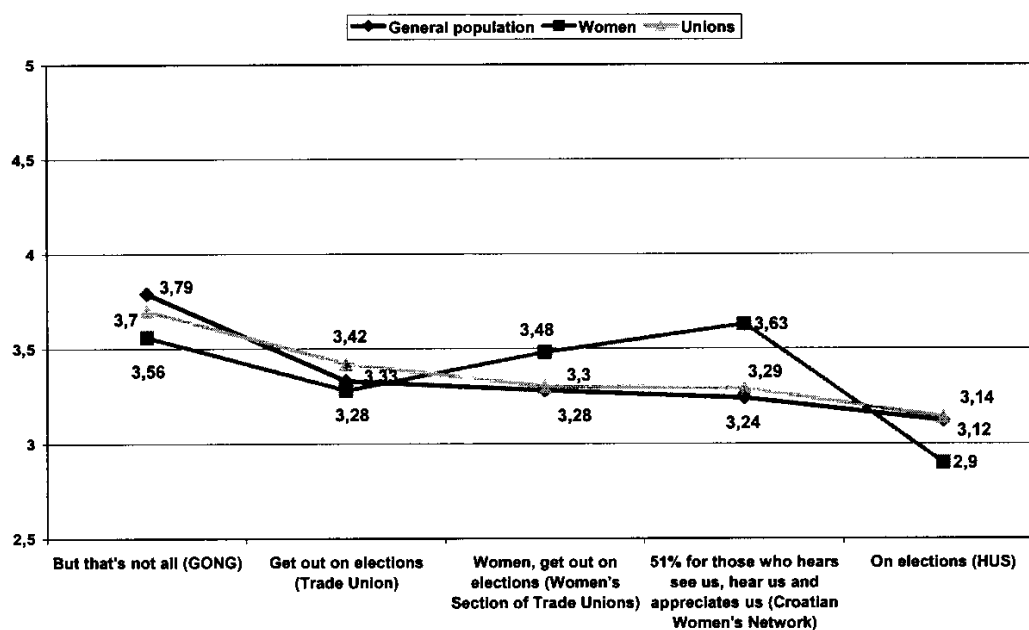
Figure 17. Suitability of ads – all three samples



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Slogans accompanying ads were also evaluated at the end of this part of the research. Respondents were asked whether slogans that had been used motivated citizens in a good way to go out and vote or not. The GONG slogan was once again evaluated as the most motivating one. Women find the Croatian Women's Network slogan more motivating than respondents from the general population and union members sample. Also, they find HUS slogan the least motivating. *But that's not all!* is a more suitable slogan to the respondents from the general population than from the women sample.

Figure 18. Slogans accompanying ads – all three samples





#### 4.2.3 Perception of and attitudes toward GOTV campaigns and presented ads

In order to meet the research goals as well as to better understand and deepen their attitudes toward campaigns, respondents were asked several questions regarding "what is behind" these GOTV campaigns (are they helping particular parties; financing of campaigns; what is the purpose of these campaigns). It was also necessary to determine their general attitude toward inviting people to elections and their perception of the effectiveness of these campaigns, the information impact of campaigns and how they perceive their level of information about elections.

To get a better insight into their perception of these GOTV campaigns advertisers, respondents were asked whether they find these ads biased or neutral. The majority of respondents from all three samples found ads not biased.

Around 20% of respondents from each sample think these ads help some parties. Respondents' answers varied from "left-oriented parties" to "right-oriented parties". Respondents from the general population believe that these ads help parties forming the government and parties that advertise more. Women believe that these ads help HDZ, whereas union members point out parties forming the government. What is important to emphasize is the fact that more than 30% of the respondents who say these campaigns are biased cannot for sure point out who are they biased toward.

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Figure 19. Do you think the content of these advertisements helps certain political parties? – All three samples

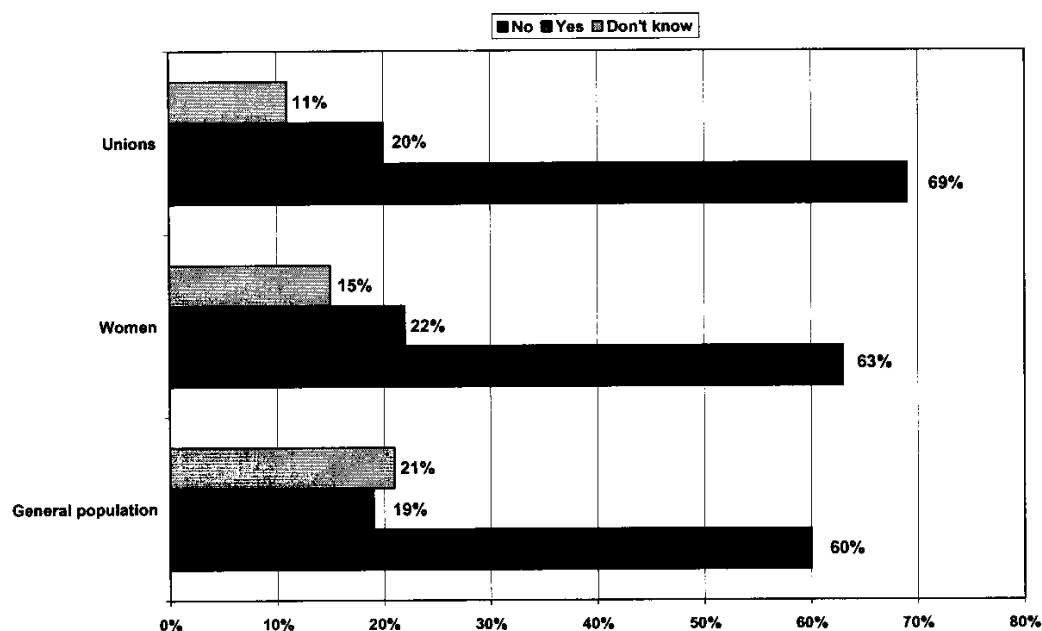


Table 17. Which parties does it help? – All three samples

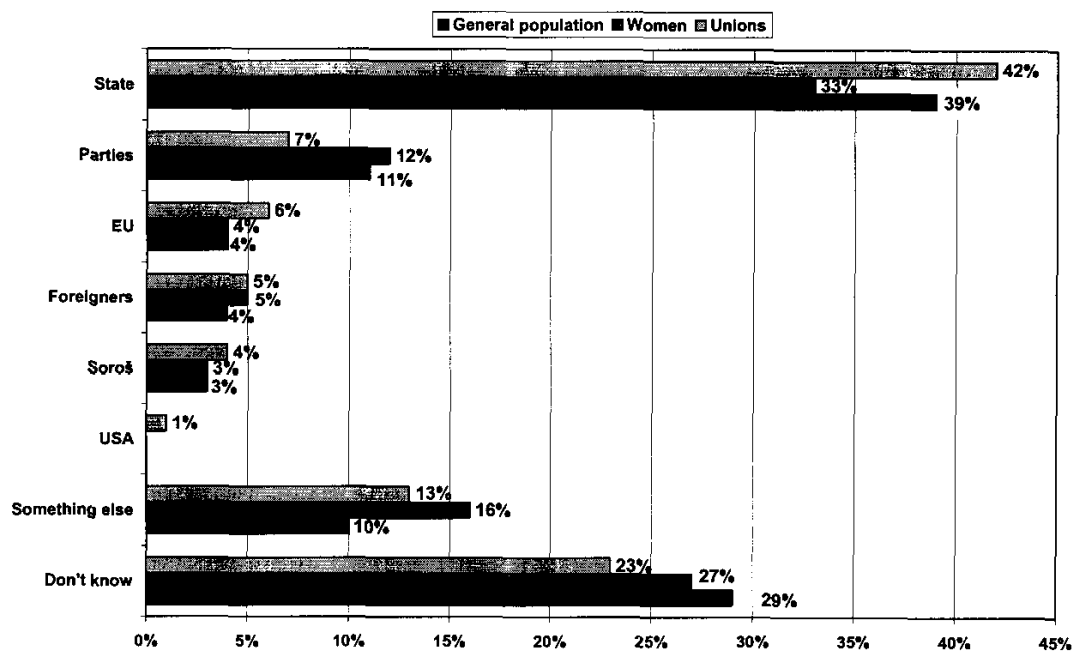
	General population	Women	Unions
DKINA	34%	38%	44%
HDZ	8%	18%	13%
Those that form government	14%	1%	16%
All parties	16%	6%	6%
HDZ and SDP	4%	3%	5%
They help stronger and bigger parties	6%	2%	

\*only top answers

Respondents were furthermore asked who, in their opinion, finances these NGO's campaigns. The next figure shows that respondents from all three samples point out on the state as a financier of GOTV campaigns. Union members point out on parties as financiers in a smaller number of cases than the respondents from other two samples. 16% of union members, 12% of women and 11% of the general population believe foreigners (EU, foreigners, Soroš and USA) to be financing these campaigns.

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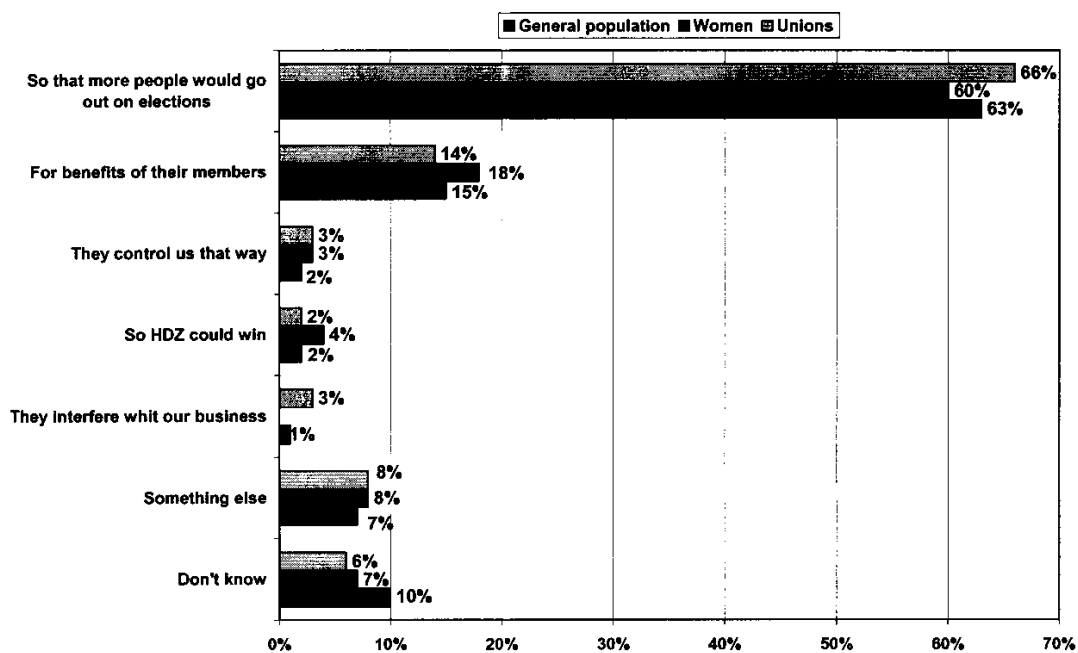
Figure 20. In your opinion, who is financing these NGO's campaigns which invite people to get out and vote? – All three samples



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To better understand their perception of organizers of GOTV campaigns, respondents were asked what would be the organizers' reasons for organizing these campaigns. The results confirm once again that respondents are able to distinguish and recognize the main goal of GOTV campaigns which is to invite people to get out and vote.

Figure 21. Why do organizers organize these campaigns which invite people to get out and vote? – All three samples



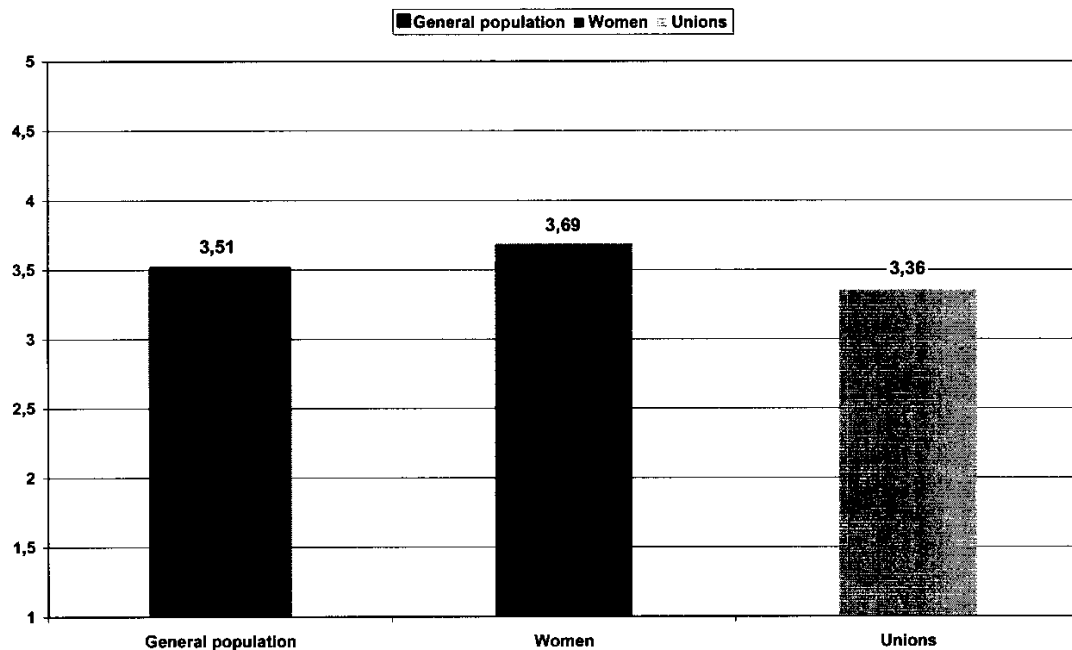
One of the important factors for evaluating the effectiveness of campaigns is the respondents' perception of a need to invite citizens to get out and vote. Respondents from all three samples on average believe that there is a need to invite people to vote. An average mark for the necessity to invite people to vote in all three samples is above 3, which means that more people agree it is necessary to invite people to go out and vote than that it is not necessary.

Respondents (in all three samples) who say there is no need to invite people to get out and vote explain it with the fact that "voting is a civil right, and who wants to vote will vote" and also with "civil duty".

Most of the respondents speaking in favor of the necessity to invite people to vote explain their answers with these next few explanations: "to increase a response rate", "to express their opinions", "civil duty" and "additional stimulus". Union members point out "additional stimulus" more than respondents from other two samples.

The respondents who voted in last elections find it more necessary to invite people to vote in elections than the respondents who didn't vote.

Figure 22. Do you think it is necessary to invite people to vote in elections? – All three samples



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Furthermore, respondents were asked for their opinion regarding the effectiveness of these campaigns, i.e. whether campaigns have been noticed in the public. Respondents from all three samples believe that these campaigns have been noticed in the public; according to their perception the campaigns did manage to reach the citizens. There is no difference between respondents who voted and those who did not vote in the perception of the effectiveness of the campaigns.

Figure 23. Do you think these media campaigns were noticed in the public?

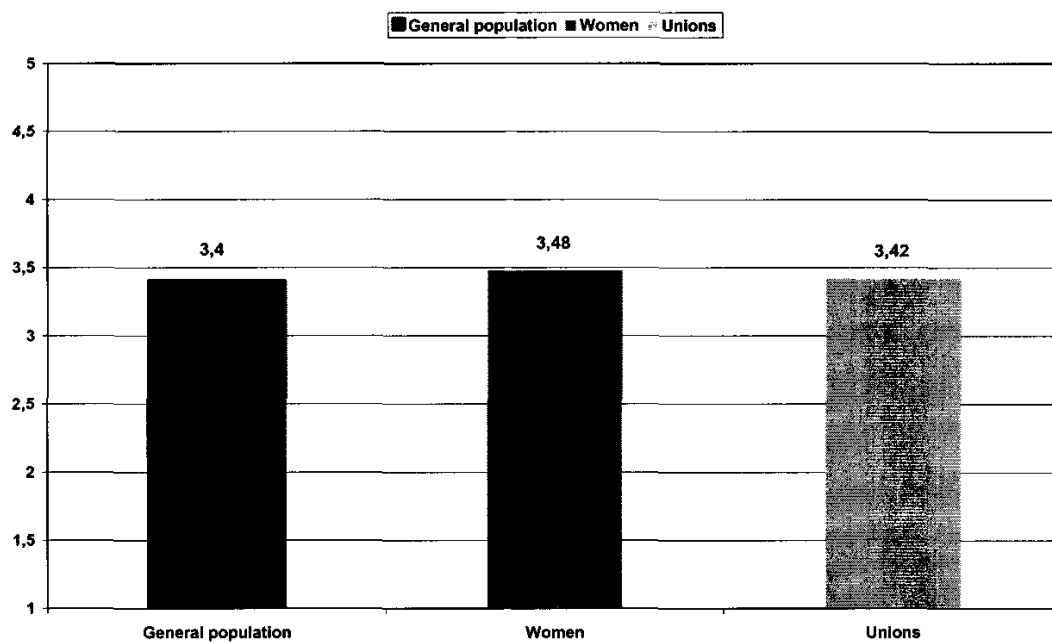
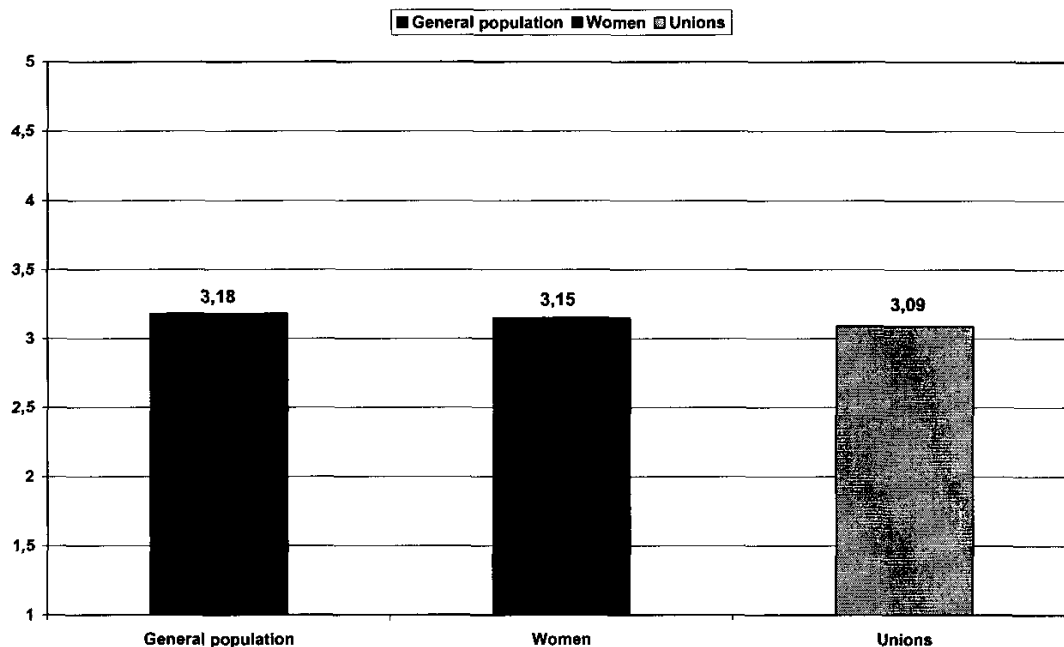


Figure 24. What do you think is the opinion of the majority of people about stimulating citizens to vote in elections?

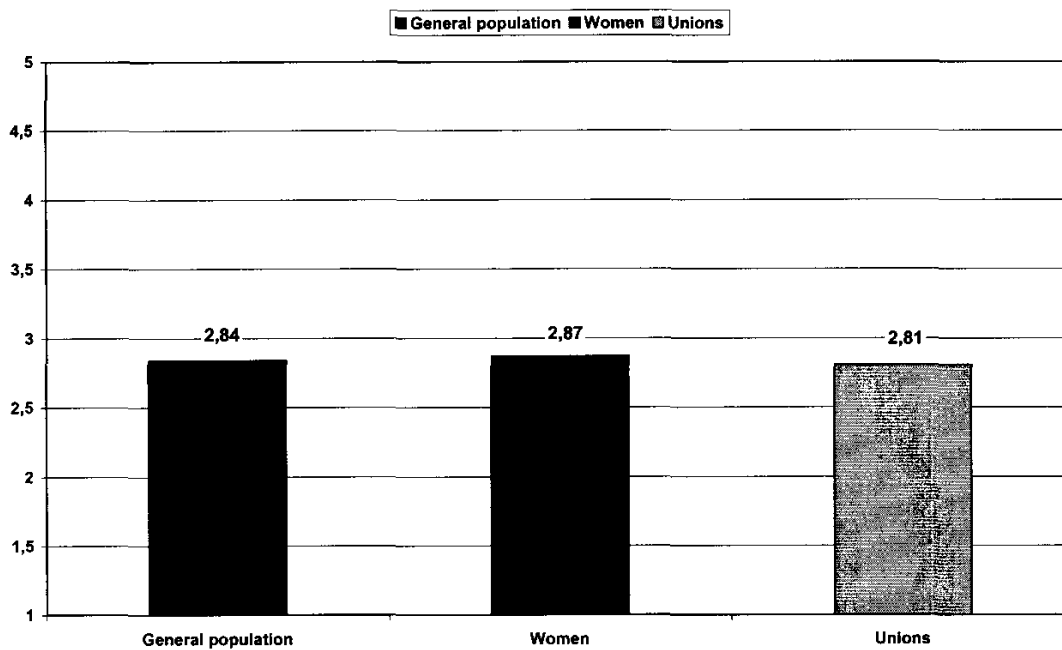


Respondents were asked to estimate the opinion of the majority of citizens regarding stimulating people to vote in elections. The average answer of all three samples is slightly over 3, so the respondents' opinion about that issue can be described as neither unfavorable nor favorable. The respondents are indifferent, i.e. they have no firm opinion on whether people find inviting citizens to go to vote favorable or unfavorable. There is no difference regarding this attitude between the respondents who voted and those who didn't.

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The next figure shows the respondents' opinion as to the number of people who were stimulated by these advertisements. Respondents from all samples believe that these campaigns influenced a certain number of people to get out and vote. The average mark on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 stands for a small number of people and 5 for a large number of people, was somewhat below 3. It can be concluded that respondents show tendency to believe these campaigns can stimulate a small number of people. Whether they voted or not in the last elections didn't influence their opinion on this matter.

Figure 25. What number of people can these advertisements that were initiated by NGOs stimulate to get out and vote in elections?





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Respondents' attitude toward the way of informing people about the need and importance of voting in elections is mediocre; the average mark for all three groups of respondents is around 3. Once again a scale from 1 to 5 was used, where 1 means that these advertisements didn't inform people at all and 5 means that they informed them completely. Results show that the way of informing people about elections is not evaluated as the best one, but it is also not evaluated poorly. Once again the respondents' opinion can be described as indifferent, i.e. they have no firm opinion whether these advertisements informed people in a good way or failed.

Figure 26. Do you think the advertisements we have just shown to you informed people in a good way about the need and importance of voting in elections?

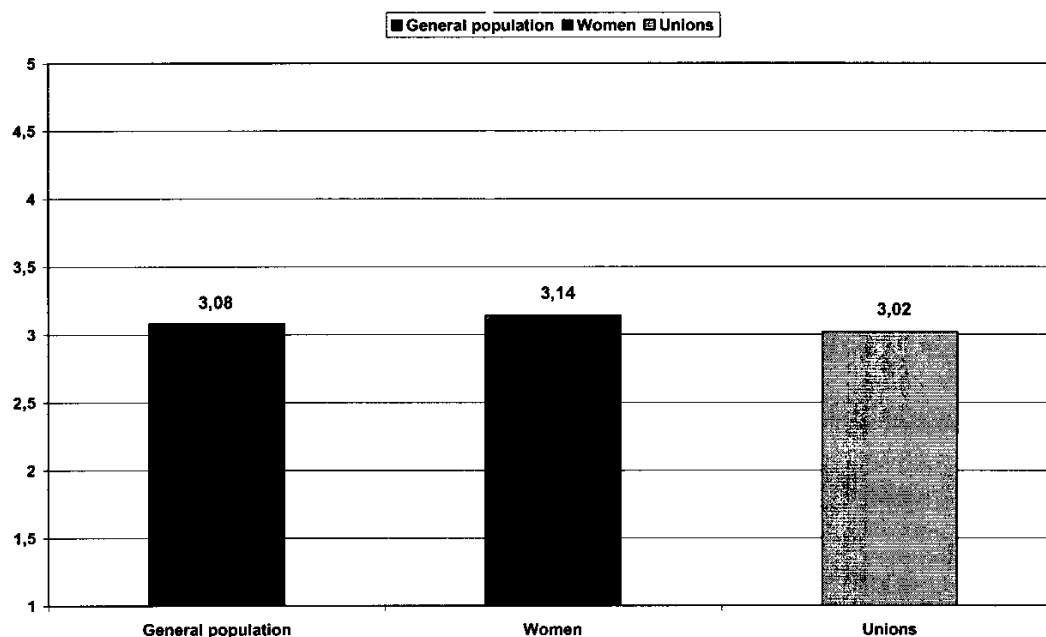
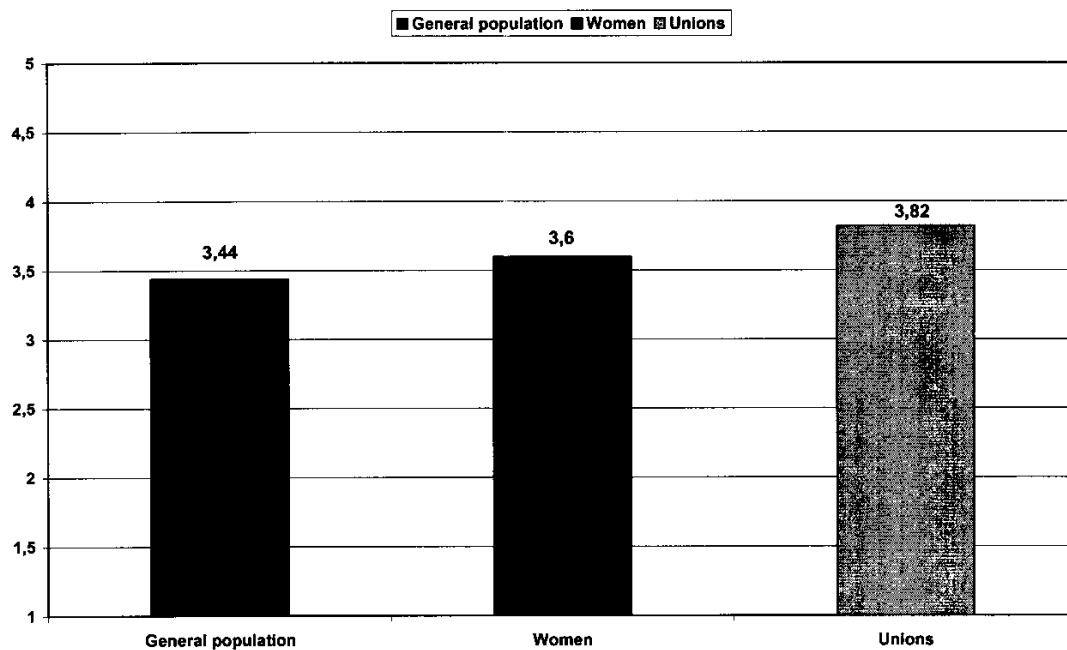


Figure 27. How well were you informed about the basic rules regarding elections? – All three samples



The level of information about the election rules is highest among the union members; they consider themselves well informed about elections. The level of information is considerably lower among the respondents from the general population and women. The respondents from all three samples who voted in the last elections consider themselves more informed than the respondents who didn't vote. Furthermore, the respondents who noticed GONG campaigns also consider themselves more informed about the basic rules than those who didn't notice GONG ads.

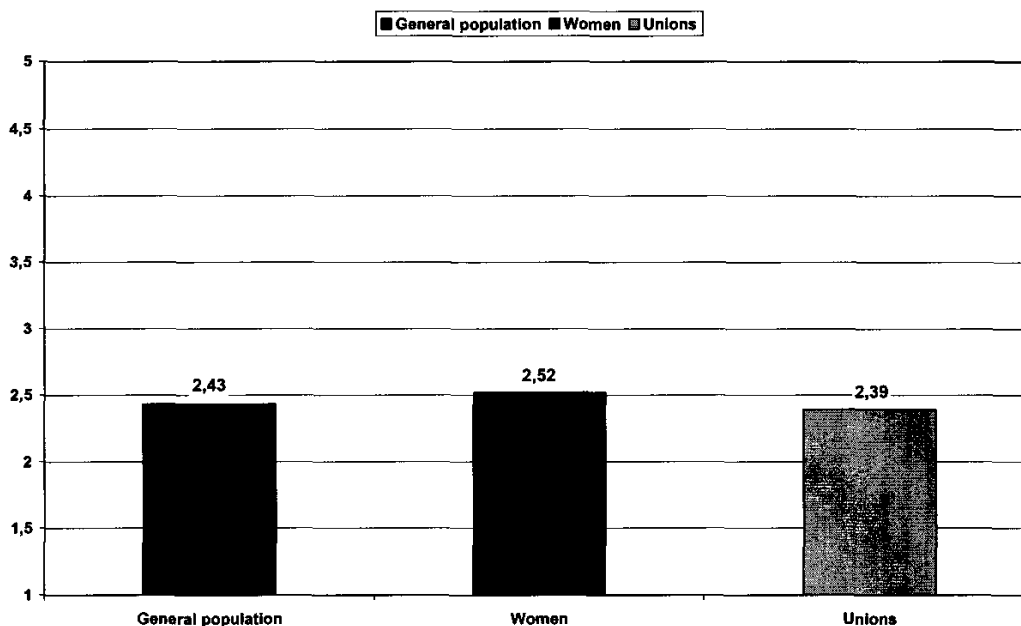
#### 4.2.4 Respondents' perception of GOTV campaigns' influence on their decision to get out and vote

At the end of this phase of the quantitative part of the research, respondents were asked to estimate direct impact and influence of GOTV campaigns on their level of information about elections and their decision whether to get out and vote.

The estimated contribution to their level of information about the elections is rather poor; the average mark is around 2.5. Therefore, one can conclude that in their perception the information impact of this campaign was not high.

The perceived information impact of campaigns is higher among respondents who voted in elections than among those who didn't vote. Likewise, the level of perceived impact is higher among respondents who noticed GONG campaign than among those who didn't notice it.

Figure 28. How much did these advertisements contribute to your level of information about election process and elections rules?



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As has been mentioned previously, respondents were asked about the level of influence these campaigns had on their decisions to get out and vote. In other words, whether they voted in elections due to these GOTV campaigns. For this purpose a scale from 1 to 7 was used, but afterwards the respondents were split into two groups, one group consisting of respondents with answers somewhere between 1 and 4 (didn't have influence and neutral) and the other group (did have influence) with answers higher than 4. The percentage of respondents who were influenced by these campaigns is 7% for women and 8% for the union members sample.

As though 7% or 8% doesn't seem as a high percentage of people influenced by these GOTV campaigns due to the specific theme of advertisements and their attempt to influence what is considered a private matter, i.e. a discussion to get out to vote on election day. The fact that 7 or 8 percent of each population was directly influenced to get out and vote is an indicator of good effectiveness of these campaigns.

And once again GONG campaign was evaluated as the best, i.e. it was perceived as the one with a special impact on the respondents influenced by the campaigns. (Figure 30). Women's campaign had the highest impact on women so these campaigns also reached their target population as well.

Figure 29. How much did these campaigns influence your decision to get out and vote in elections?

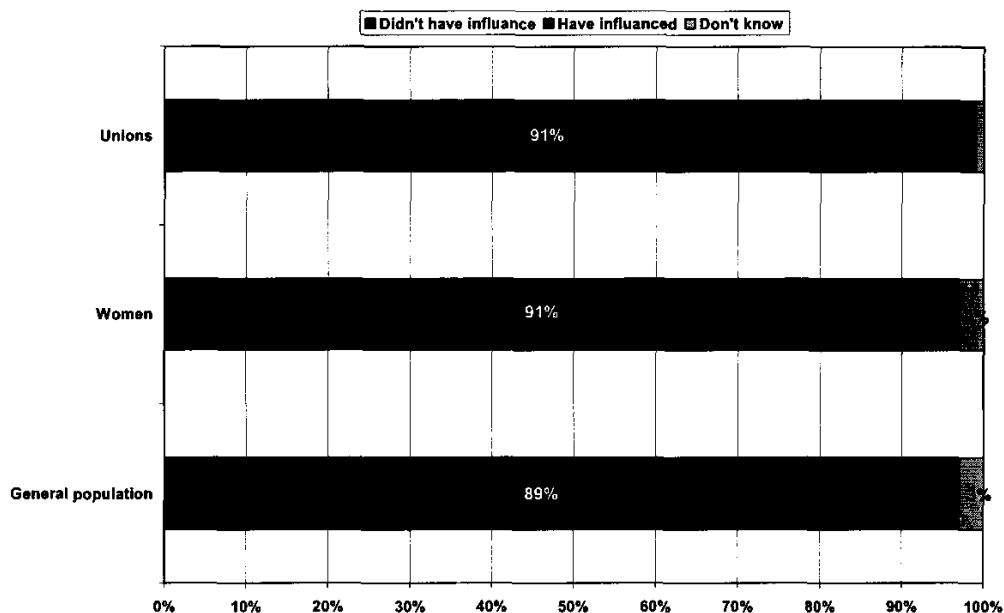
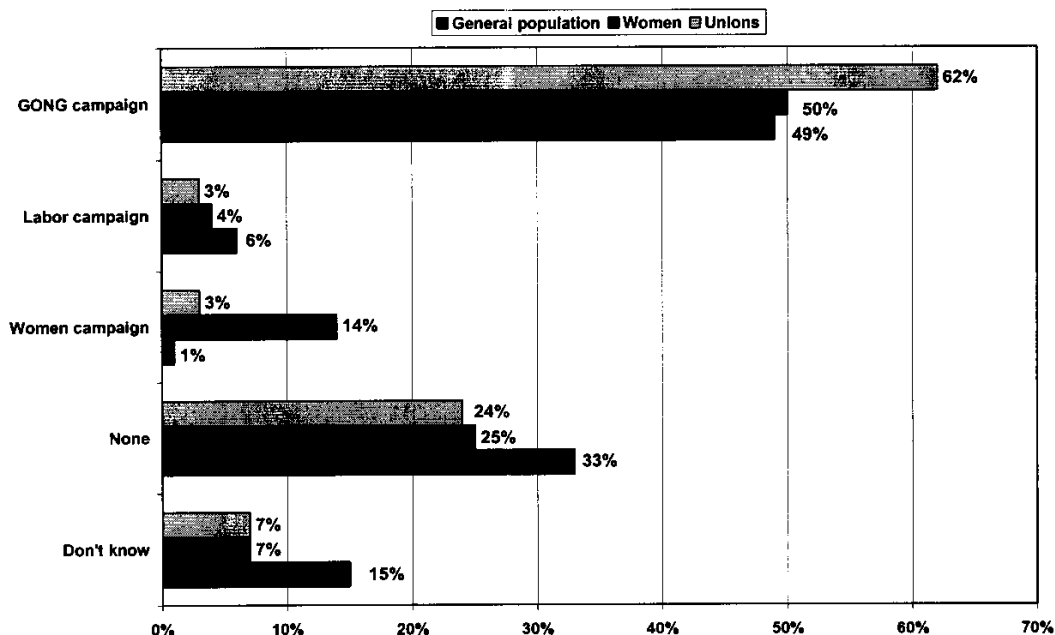


Figure 30. Can you single out any campaign as having specially influenced you to get out and vote? – Respondents from all three samples who were influenced by campaigns



In in-depth interviews respondents said they decided exclusively on their own whether to vote or not. Although they admit talking about politics and elections with their family, friends and colleagues, their significant others have no influence on their voting habits. Significant others have no influence on whether they will get out and vote or who they will vote for. Respondents participating in in-depth interviews make decisions on their own, without any "outside" influence. They say GOTV campaigns had no influence on their decisions regarding voting. They also believe that GOTV campaigns had no influence over the general population either.

- *This is a will and decision of every person.*
- *I think that voting turnout does not depend on NGO that will motivate them to vote. Voting turnout primarily depends on the fact whether a voter has someone to vote for or not. If they have no one to vote for, voters will not vote just because someone tells them "Vote! Your vote will change something!"*

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In in-depth interviews respondents were asked to express their opinion as to what would be a more effective message from NGOs that would stimulate more people to vote. According to some opinions, campaigns aimed at motivating people to vote need to be:

- *simple*
- *short*
- *interesting*
- *with a sense of humor*
- *encourage people to vote*
  
- *They should be simple and short, and should invite people to fight for their opinions and beliefs that are important to them and to their children. They should be accompanied by funny drawings of politicians and things shouldn't be so serious.*

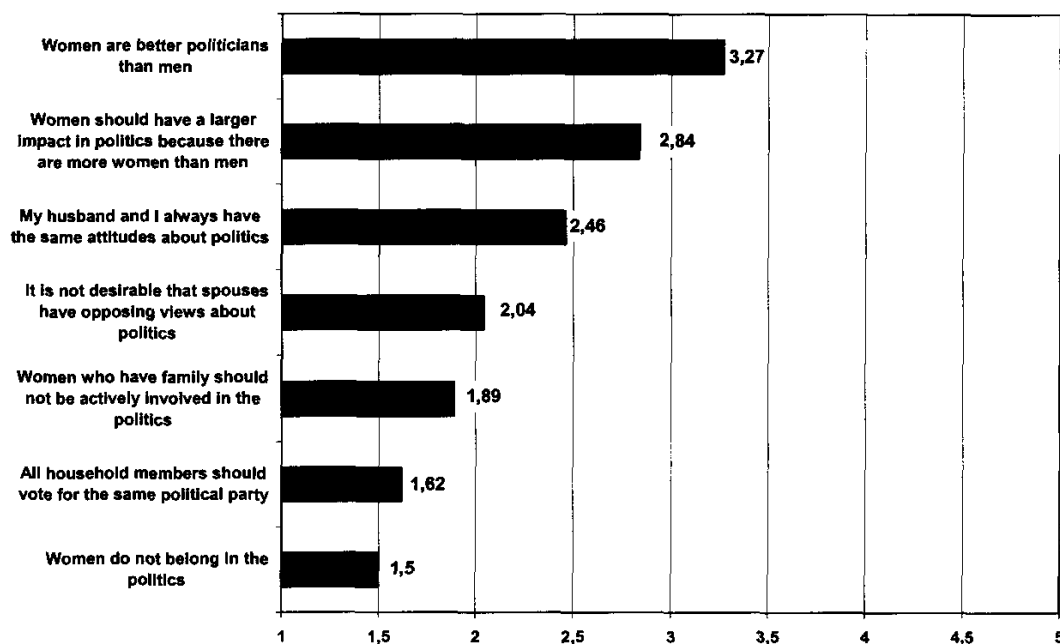
Respondents who did not vote say that GOTV cannot have great influence on their decision to vote in the next elections. What can influence them, however, is a constructive and quality program of a party and positive attitudes of politicians.

- *Only parties can influence me to vote. If they offer a clear and a simple program that can be fulfilled, without obvious false promises, I will vote. Otherwise, no other campaign can influence my decision not to vote.*

### 4.3. Women's attitudes toward women and politics

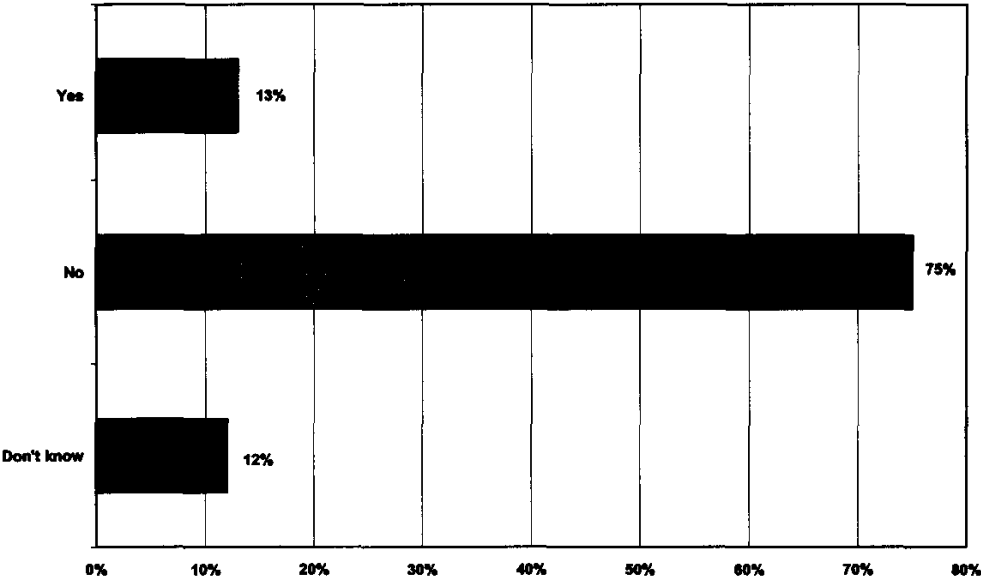
The final part of the women's questionnaire was designed to analyze some specific attitudes about women and their relation to politics and voting in general. Women were asked to rank on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 means they don't agree at all and 5 means they strongly agree) statements about women and politics. Average grades for each statement are presented in next figure:

Figure 31. Attitudes toward women and politics



Women do not believe that women don't belong in the politics just as they don't agree that household members should vote for the same party. Women also believe that women are better politicians than men. When taking into consideration all their attitudes together, it can be concluded that women consider themselves independent and self-conscious regarding politics.

Figure 32. Preceding the last parliamentary elections, did your union agents organize any actions or talks where they motivated members to get out and vote?

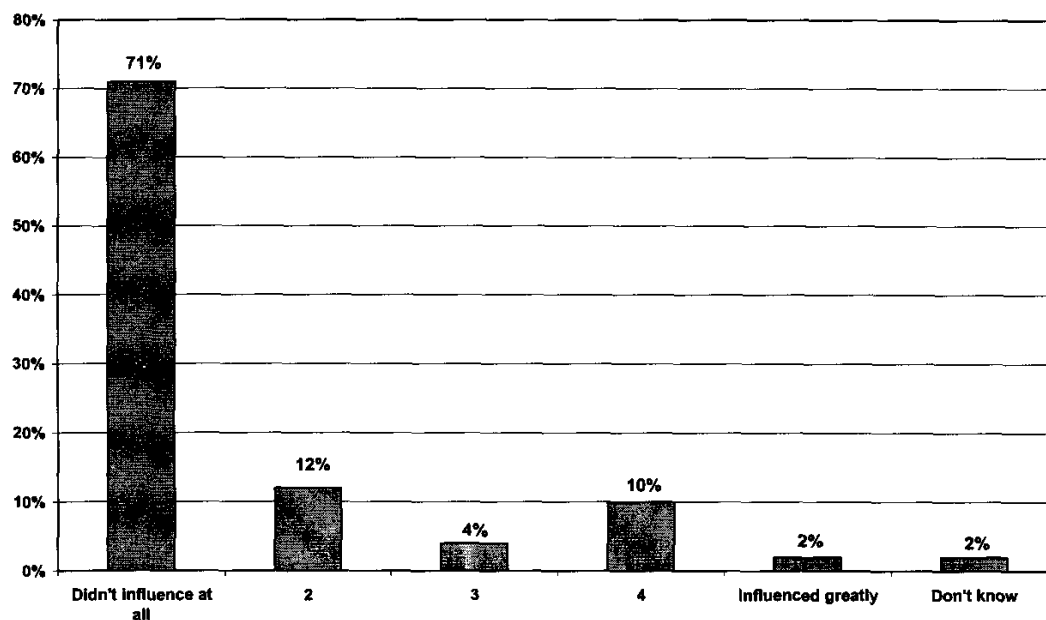




# EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

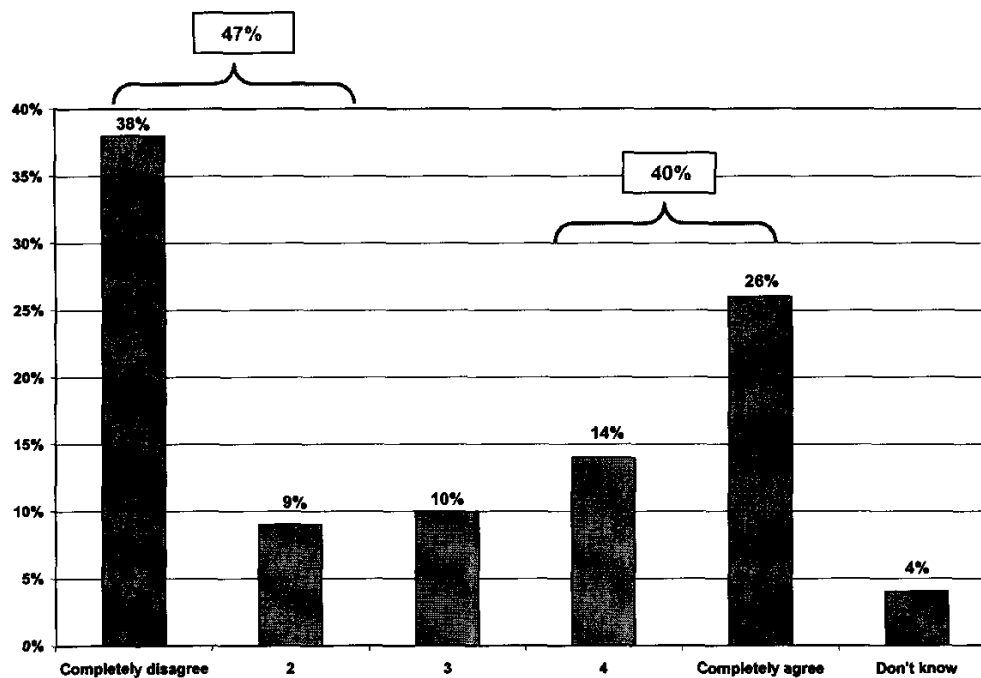
Union members who could remember such actions were asked if these actions had influenced their decision whether to go and vote. These actions and talks have influenced 12% of union members who could remember them. Union members influenced by these actions make 2% of all members.

Figure 33. Have these actions or talks influenced your decision to vote? – union members who noticed union's actions



EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

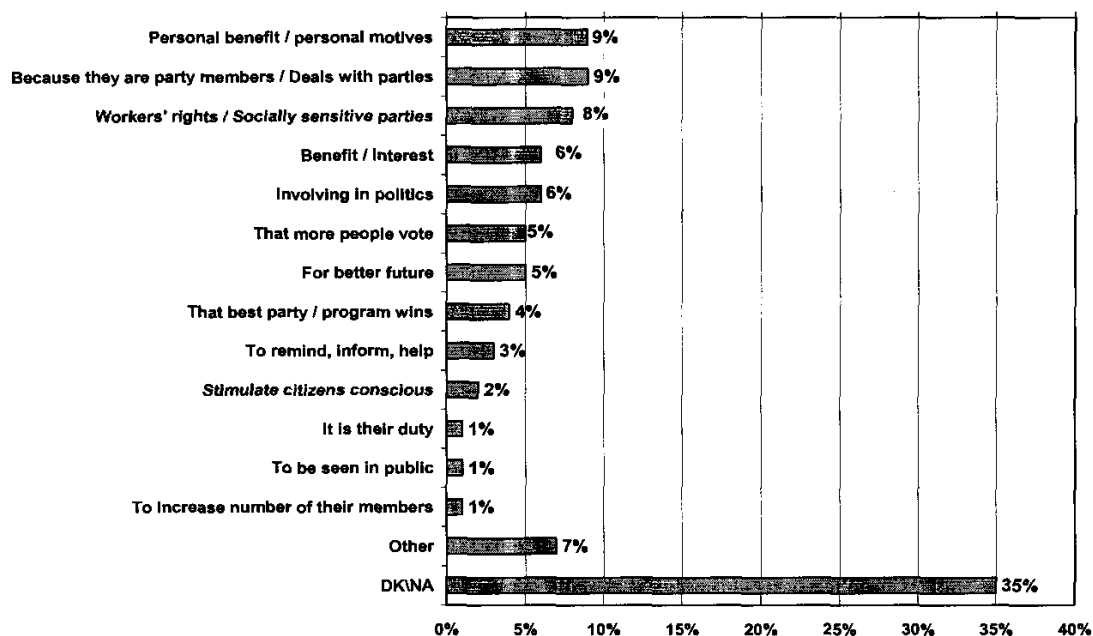
Figure 34. Do you agree with the statement that trade unions encourage their members to get out and vote?



Members' attitude toward encouragement by their unions to get out and vote in elections is bipolar, around 47% of union members disagree with the unions' encouragement and around 40% agree with it.

EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Figure 35. In your opinion, what is the main motive of unions to encourage their members to get out and vote?



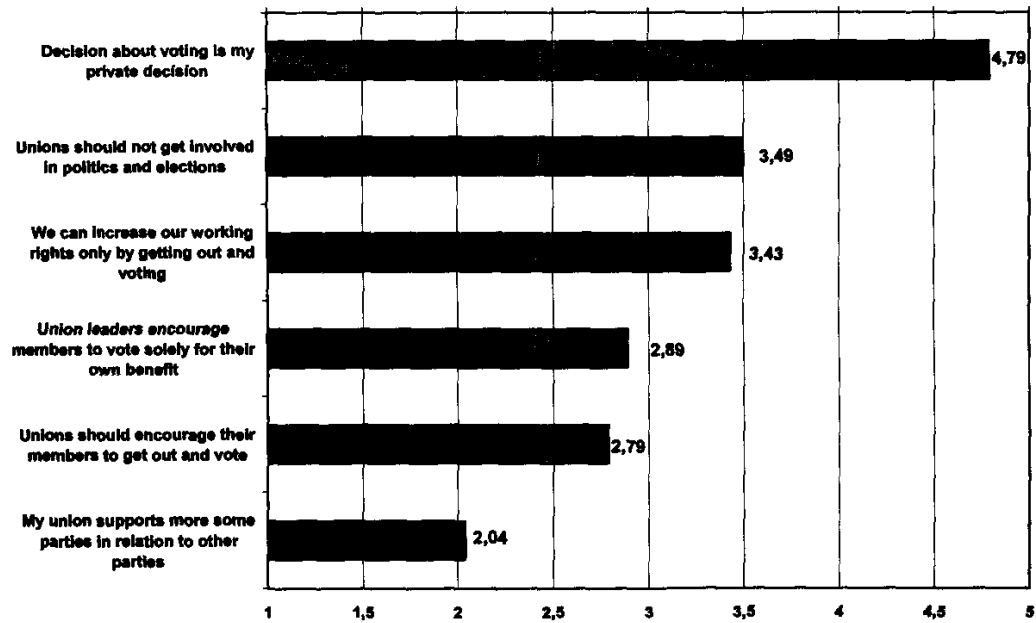
1/3 of union members cannot point out any motive of unions to invite their members to vote in elections.

Three most stated motives are:

- Personal benefit of union leaders
- Because they are party members
- Due to workers rights

EFFECTIVENESS AND EVALUATION OF GOTV CAMPAIGNS DURING CROATIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2003

Figure 36. Statements regarding unions and voting in elections (average)



\*on scale from 1-5

Union members consider voting in elections as a strictly private decision. Also, they don't find their unions biased.